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UZBEK STRUCTURAL GRAMMAR

by

Andrée F. Sjoberg

(University of Texas)

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by Andrée F. Sjoberg

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PREFACE

This is a structural grammar of Uzbek. Some may wonder why I have not utilized some recently developed, more specialized approaches such as transformational analysis. I am convinced, on the basis of my experience with some little-described non-Indo-European languages, that one must first, through induction or the process of discovery, discern and detail just what are the typical sequences and the function of their component parts before one can engage in transformational analysis—a quasi-deductive method whereby one postulates a system of formal rules that might be said to account for, or "govern" the production of, any utterance in the language. The present work, it is hoped, provides the basis for more intensive analysis of standard spoken Uzbek.

For the realization of this venture, I am greatly indebted to a number of Uzbeks, particularly Babur Chağatay and M. Maksud-bek, who provided me with the basic materials on the Tashkent dialect—largely via tape recordings. I also wish to thank Gideon Sjoberg for his editorial assistance and for typing the final draft of the manuscript.

Andrée F. Sjoberg
May, 1962

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Statement of problem.

This is a descriptive grammar of standard spoken Uzbek[1]—the modern educated speech that conforms rather closely to the written form, which in turn is based mainly on the dialect of Tashkent, the present capital of Uzbekistan.

My intention has been to present a structural sketch that not only contributes to the science of linguistics but can be used for teaching purposes as well. For up to now no adequate study of Uzbek employing the techniques of modern structural linguistics has appeared. Although I have relied heavily upon the structural approach which has become traditional in America, I have departed from it at points where this has seemed desirable.

An effort has been made to treat the salient features of Uzbek phonology, morphology, and syntax. Disagreement among linguists over what should be included, and omitted, in such a study is perhaps inevitable. And, given the complexities of any living language, none can ever be completely described.

1.2. The Uzbeks.

The Uzbek language is spoken today by probably over seven million people. A little more than five million Uzbeks—the largest non-Slavic group in the Soviet Union—live in Uzbekistan (Uzbek SSR). Almost another million reside in adjoining republics of Soviet Central Asia: Kazakhistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Kirghizistan.[2] Half a million to a million reportedly live in Afghanistan, and there are Uzbek communities in Turkey, Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan), Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and several other Middle Eastern countries.

1.21. The first evidence we have for the Uzbeks as a separate ethnic group among the Turkic tribes is from the 15th century. Apparently they took their name from Özbek (believed to be a descendant of Genghiz Khan), who ruled in Turkestan in the 14th century.[3] Some of the ancestors of the Uzbeks must have been those Turkic nomads living in or near the region of present-day Uzbekistan about the middle of the first millennium A. D., when the Turks as a people burst upon the historical scene. In the centuries that followed they became mixed with the predominantly urban Iranians in Turkestan. Other forerunners of the Uzbeks were Mongols, "turkified" Mongols, and various Turkic elements who entered Turkestan from the east and north at the time of the Mongol invasions in the early 13th century. Beginning about the 15th century, with their emergence as a people, the Uzbeks contributed much to the civilizations for which Samarkand, Bokhara, Khiva, and other cities of Uzbekistan are renowned. Today the Uzbeks are either city-dwellers or rural agriculturists, herders, or craftsmen; only a handful could be considered truly nomadic.

1.3. The Uzbek language.

In terms of number of speakers, Uzbek is the most important of the southeastern group of Turkic languages. The chief urban dialects find their closest genetic ties, among modern forms of Turkic, with Uighur, spoken mainly in Eastern Turkestan (Sinkiang). Next to this its nearest relatives are members of the southwestern (Oghuz) Turkic division—including Turkish, Turkmen, and Azerbaijani.[4] More broadly, it forms part of the Altaic linguistic grouping, which includes Mongolian and Manchu-Tungusic, and perhaps Korean as well.

1.31. Historically Uzbek has felt the impact—upon its phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon—of the languages of various conquerors of Turkestan. Persian culture, dominant in the area intermittently between the 6th century B.C. and the 19th century, profoundly affected the Uzbeks and their language. For Persian was for a

long period written and spoken by highly educated Uzbeks in the cities and was the medium of much literary creation. Alongside this were the various colloquial forms of Persian from which present-day Tajik evidently has developed and which, too, have affected Uzbek.[5] Moreover, Arab incursions into the Uzbek area, at the end of the 7th or beginning of the 8th century A. D., and the ensuing proliferation of Islam (largely through the medium of Persian culture), left a legacy of influence upon Uzbek, especially its written form; for as the vehicle of the Islamic religion and its traditional writings, Arabic has long been utilized in greater or lesser degree in the schools and mosques. Now in the present century we witness a steady russianization of the Uzbek language.

1.32. Today Uzbek comprises a number of dialects that can be divided into four groupings.[6] The first are the Kipchak varieties spoken in northern Uzbekistan and closely resembling Kazakh and Karakalpak; the second category, the so-called North Uzbek dialects, embraces certain forms spoken in southern Kazakhistan; the third grouping, to the west, includes dialects influenced by the Turkmen language; and to the fourth category belong the South Uzbek dialects.

This last, most southerly group, socially and historically the most important, and for some centuries the basis of the literary language, includes the dialects of the main urban centers of Central Asia—Tashkent, Bukhara, Andijan, Samarkand, etc. These dialects fall into two categories: "iranized" (i. e. highly influenced by Persian and Tajik, and evincing a dramatic loss of vowel harmony) and "half-iranized" (retaining somewhat more of the earlier patterns of sound harmony). Prominent among the "iranized" dialects are those of Bukhara, Samarkand, Tashkent,[7] Jizzakh, and Leninabad; the "half-iranized" dialects are concentrated in the eastern parts of Uzbekistan, mainly in the Ferghana valley east of Tashkent, which includes such cities as Andijan, Kokand, and Namangan. Of course, differences persist among all the urban dialects, and linguistic distinctions are marked between cities and rural areas as well.

The educated speech of Tashkent, the dialect described in this study, is the literary standard today, having acquired this status in the late 1930's.[8]

1.4. The Written form.

For many centuries Uzbek was recorded in a modified version of the Arabic script. In the late 1920's, however, the Latin script, with some alterations, was officially adopted in place of the Arabic. Further revisions of this latinized script were introduced in the 1930's. In 1940-41 it was superseded by the Cyrillic alphabet, the official medium for Uzbek in the Soviet Union today.[9] Here, too, some new symbols had to be devised to represent Uzbek sounds not present in Russian. In general the writing system (section 2.5.) today accords rather closely with the standard educated Tashkent speech.

1.5. Sources of data.

In preparing this structural grammar, I have relied primarily upon materials collected from two educated male speakers of the Tashkent dialect. Except for the fact that one displays a number of Russian loans while the other does not, their idiolects are alike in most respects. Data obtained from speakers of several other Uzbek dialects have served mainly for purposes of comparison. The same holds for published materials in Russian, German, and Uzbek.[10]

Notes

1. Usually written "Uzbek" or "Uzbeg" in English, "Uzbek" in Russian, "Özbek" in German, "Ouzbek" or "Ouzbeg" in French. The standard written form today in Uzbekistan is ўзбек /ozbek/, but it is generally pronounced by educated speakers of the Tashkent dialect as /uzbek/.

2. "1959 Census Figures on Education, Nationalities, Age," The Current Digest of the Soviet Press, XII (March 2, 1960), 5-6.

3. V. V. Barthold, Four Studies on the History of Central Asia, trans. by V. and T. Minorsky (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1956), 51-66.

4. See: N. A. Baskakov, Tîurkskie ÎAzyki (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Vostochnoĭ Literatury, 1960).

5. For two sources on these points, see: A. M. SHCHerbak, "K Istorii Uzbekskogo Literaturnogo ÎAzyka Drevnego Perioda, " in Vladimiru Aleksandrovichu Gordlevskomu k ego Semidesîâtipîâtiletiiû. Sbornik Statei (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1953), 317-19; Alexandre Bennigsen and Chantal Quelquejay, "Le problème linguistique et l'évolution des nationalités musulmanes en U. R. S. S.," Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique, I (Avril-juin, 1960), 423.

6. V. V. Reshetov, Uzbekskiĭ ÎAzyk, I, Vvedenie. Fonetika (Tashkent: Gosudarstvennoe Uchebno-Pedagogicheskoe Izdatel'stvo UzSSR, 1959), 15-79; Baskakov, op. cit.; Stefan Wurm, "Das Özbekische," in J. Deny et al. (eds.), Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta, I (Weisbaden: Franz Steiner, 1959), 489.

7. However, in standard Uzbek speech based on the Tashkent dialect, instances of the palatal sound harmony characteristic of Turkic languages still appear—but they have shifted to the allophonic level (see 2. 2.).

8. Today the Tashkent dialect alone serves as the phonological basis for standard written Uzbek; however, the standard grammar and vocabulary are also based in part on certain South Uzbek dialects of the Ferghana region. Stefan Wurm, "Appendix I. Comments,' in The Turkic Languages of Central Asia: Problems of Planned Culture Contact (London: Central Asian Research Centre, 1960), 48.

9. A. von Gabain, Özbekische Grammatik (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1945), 8-9; Wurm, "Das Özbekische," op. cit., 490.

10. For two recent sources on the modern written language, the reader is referred to the detailed reference grammar: A. N. Kononov, Grammatika Sovremennogo

Uzbekskogo Literaturnogo Âzyka (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1960), and a highly useful dictionary (including a sketch of the grammar by A. K. Borovkov): S. F. Akabirov et al. (eds.), Uzbeksko-Russkiĭ Slovar' (Moskva: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo Inostrannykh i Natsional'nykh Slovareĭ, 1959).

Neither Kononov nor Borovkov, however, has employed a modern structural linguistic framework, and my interpretation of elements of the language differs from theirs in some significant respects.

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1. Introduction.

As noted above, the idiolects of the two Uzbeks, whose speech we analyze, closely correspond. However, because one uses a number of Russian loans, his formal speech contains the additional phonemes /f, ž, t͡s/. We have included such borrowings in the material below. The same speaker more often employs a glottal stop /ʔ/ in certain Arabic loans that originally contained hamza or ʿain—yet both Uzbeks limit it to hyperformal discourse. Also, in some sequences one speaker uses /i, e, a, u/ where the other has /e, a, ɔ, o/, respectively—reflecting perhaps the influence of other dialects on one or both informants.

Here we analyze the segmental phonemes (and their allophones) of formal speech, as well as the free alternation between some of these phonemes. The formal style is the moderately careful speech of educated persons. It differs from the pedantic, more elegant, hyperformal variety as well as from the casual, more rapidly enunciated, informal or colloquial style of educated persons. The more salient phonological patterns of these non-formal styles, insofar as they diverge from the formal standard, are also briefly described. We then discuss the suprasegmental phonemes of standard speech and, after that, the orthography.

2.11. Definition of terms.

A "syllable" in Uzbek is a unit consisting of one vowel phoneme (a stress bearer), which may or may not be combined with one or more consonant phonemes. Morpheme boundaries (marked by "-" only where deemed necessary) most often, but not always, occur at syllable boundaries.

Throughout this study, "word" refers to the "phonological word," also termed "microsegment"—a series of

phonemes in close transition bounded by internal open, or minor, juncture, but also capable of being bounded by terminal, or major, juncture. Unless stated otherwise, the terms "initial," "medial," and "final" refer to the position of a phoneme or syllable within the "phonological word."

"Prosodic unit" refers to the minimum sequence that carries an intonation contour (consisting of pitches and terminal juncture). It is usually coterminous with the phrase and contains only one primary stress.

2.2. Segmental phonemes of formal, standard speech.[1]

The following segmental phonemes appear in the formal, standard variety of the Tashkent dialect: /p, b, t, d, k, g, q, ɸ, f, s, z, š, ž, x, ǧ, h, t͡s, č, ǰ, m, n, ŋ, w, l, r, y, i, e, a, ɔ, o, u/. /f, ž, t͡s/ are rare. (Additional phonemes occur in other speech-styles: section 2.3.)

TABLE 1

CONSONANT PHONEMES

		Labial	Dento-alveolar	Alveo-palatal	Palatal	Velar	Post-velar
Stops	vl.	p	t			k	q
	vd.	b	d			g	
Fricatives	vl.	ɸ, (f)	s	š		x	h
	vd.		z	(ž)		ǧ	
Affricates	vl.		(t͡s)	č			
	vd.			ǰ			
Sonants							
Nasals		m	n			ŋ	
Non-nasals		w	l, r		y		

TABLE 2

ALLOPHONES OF THE VOWEL PHONEMES

	Front		Central		Back	
	Unrounded	Rounded	Unrounded	Rounded	Unrounded	Rounded
High		ū˃		u̇˅		u˅
High-mid			˂ɨ			
Mid						
Low-mid						
Low			a˃			

Relative Positions of Front and Back
Allophones of /i, a, o, u/

	ū		u
	ō		o
ā		a	

2.21. Consonants.

The phonemes are written within / /; their allophones (the phonetic realization) appear within [ ].

Phonemes and their Allophones

/p/

[p] Bilabial voiceless fortis stop, somewhat aspirated before vowels. [qɔp] 'sack, bag'; [pärwa̋] 'anxiety, trouble'

/b/

[b] Bilabial voiced lenis unaspirated stop. [tä̋ʒrɨbä] 'practice, experience'; [bärt͡ʃä] 'all, the whole'

/t/

[t] Dental voiceless fortis stop, slightly aspirated before vowels. [därt͡ʃil] 'sickly'; [tät] 'taste'

/d/

[d] Dental voiced lenis unaspirated stop. [a̋däm] 'man'; [xudd ɜ] 'just; exactly'

/k/

[k'] Palatalized velar voiceless fortis slightly aspirated stop. Occurs before [õ, ü], often before other front vowel allophones or juncture phoneme. [k'ök'] 'blue, green'; [k'üräk'] 'shovel'; [mümk'in] 'possible'

[k] Prevelar voiceless fortis stop, slightly aspirated before vowels. Occurs elsewhere. [kut͡ʃlɨ] 'strong'; [ikkɨ] 'two'

/g/

[g'] Palatalized velar voiced lenis unaspirated stop. Occurs before [õ, ü], often before other front vowel allophones. [g'ör] 'grave'; [g'ülg'ä] 'to the flower'

[g] Prevelar voiced lenis unaspirated stop. Occurs elsewhere. [ge̋grafiya] 'geography'; [gódäk'] 'infant'

/q/

[q] Postvelar voiceless fortis unaspirated stop. Has fricative offglide when final or preconsonantal. [quruq] 'dry, thin, cold'; [qoɫ] 'arm, hand'; [ɔqt͡ʾsa ~ ɔxt͡ʾsa] 'money'

/ɸ/

[ɸ] Bilabial voiceless slit fricative. [ɸän] 'science'; [pu̇ɸlämɔq] 'breathing'; [ɸɑ̊rs] 'Persian'

/f/

[f] Labiodental voiceless slit fricative. Often in Russian loans and next to a front vowel. [fɑ̊tɑ̊grafiy̯a] 'photography'; [fabrika ~ ɸäbrikä] 'factory'; /lätif/ 'Latif (man's name)'

/s/

[s] Dentoalveolar voiceless groove fricative. [maxʹsus] 'individual, special'; [ist͡ʾsil] 'succession'

/z/

[z] Dentoalveolar voiced groove fricative, slightly devoiced when final. [ärzɑ̊n] 'cheap, inexpensive'; [k'ȫz] 'eye'

/š/

[š] Alveopalatal voiceless groove fricative. [išɑ̊nt͡ʾš] 'faith, trust'; [päššä ~ pɑ̊ššɑ̊] 'fly, gnat'

/ž/

[ž] Alveopalatal voiced groove fricative. [äždɑ̊d] 'ancestors'; [giždänɑ̊n] 'fancy cake or pancake'; [bagaž] 'baggage'

/x/

[xʹ] Prevelar voiceless groove fricative made with little friction. Occurs initially and preconsonantally. [xʹɔnä] 'building, room'; [maxʹsat] 'aim'

[x] Postvelar, almost uvular, voiceless groove fricative made with stronger friction than [xʹ].

Occurs elsewhere. [ɔxïr ~ axïr] 'end'; [nusxa] 'example'

/ğ/

[ğ] Postvelar voiced groove fricative. [ɔğïr] 'heavy'; [d͡žağ] 'jaw'

/h/

[h] Glottal voiceless slit spirant made with only slight friction. [mähällä] 'quarter, ward (of town)'; [rùh] 'spirit, breath'

/t͡s/

[t͡s] Dentoalveolar voiceless affricated stop—the first component dental [t], the second, dentoalveolar [s]. [t͡sirk] 'circus'; [kånt͡sert ~ kansert] 'concert'

/č/

[t͡š] Palatal voiceless affricated stop—the first component a backed [tˀ], the second, alveopalatal [š]. [t͡šap] 'left (side)'; [att͡šïq] 'bitter'

/ǰ/

[d͡ž] Palatal voiced affricated stop—the first component a backed [dˀ], the second, alveopalatal [ž]. [d͡žüdä] 'very'; [d͡žädd͡žɨ] 'tiny'

/m/

[m] Bilabial nasal sonant. [märhämät] 'Please; You're welcome'; [häkim] 'physician, scholar'

/n/

[n] Dental nasal sonant. [qɔrïndåš] 'relative, kin'; [t͡šɨnnɨ] 'porcelain, china'

/ŋ/

[ŋ] Velar nasal sonant. Almost palatal when both final and after a front vowel. [miŋ] 'thousand'; [t͡šäŋqäydɨ] '(he) is thirsty'; [yɔŋğɔq] 'nut'; [sóŋrä] 'after, later'

/w/

[v] Labiodental voiced slit fricative. May vary with [β, w]. [yanvar ~ yänβär] 'January'; [avgust ~ awgust] 'August'; [bazvaqt ~ bazwaqt] 'sometime(s)'

[β] Bilabial voiced slit fricative. May vary with [v, w]. [βėrgůł ~ wėrgůł] 'comma'; [yůni-βėrsitł ~ yůniversitit] 'university'; [φėβral] 'February'

[w] Velarized bilabial sonant, made with only slight lip rounding. [äwwäl] 'earlier'; [wiždån] 'conscience'

/l/

[ł] Velarized alveolar lateral sonant. Occurs between a rounded non-front vowel allophone (sometimes [a]) and a consonant or juncture phoneme. [kuł] 'ash(es)'; [åłmɔq] 'taking, receiving'; [xułq] 'character, temperament'; [bałkł] 'but; perhaps'

[l] Dentoalveolar lateral sonant. Occurs elsewhere. [millät] 'nation'; [φäsl] 'time'; [xîl] 'type, sort'

/r/

[r] Dentoalveolar single-flap sonant. Slightly palatalized when both non-geminate and next to front vowel allophones (excepting [ä]). [ğurrä] 'bump, knob'; [erk] 'freedom'; [kėräk'] 'necessary'

/y/

[y̯] Palatal glide sonant made with very lax articulation and almost no friction. Occurs next to [i, ü]. [üy̯dä] 'at home'; [kėy̯in] 'after, afterwards'; [tiy̯] 'stop!'

[y] High tense palatal glide sonant made with somewhat greater friction than [y̯]. Occurs

elsewhere. [yɑ̊mɑ̊n] 'bad; badly'; [täyyɑ̊r ~ täyɑ̊r] 'ready'

2.22. Vowels

Phonemes and their Allophones

/i/

[i] High front to front-central, close unrounded vowel. Not before syllable with /q, x, ğ/ (excluding /q/ in the suffix /-mɔq/). Initially: before any consonant but /q, x, ğ/. Medially: after /k, g, ŋ, y/ or before a vowel, /k, g, ŋ, y/, /t, š, ž, č, ǰ, w/ or /l/ (though not necessarily before certain suffixes (/-li/, /-la-/, /-lik/, /-lar/, etc.). Can occur in syllable preceding one with these consonants, provided /i/ does not itself follow syllable with non-front vowel allophone. Not generally found before /š/ when syllable with non-front vowel allophone precedes. May alternate with [ɨ] in certain sequences of /pil-/ or /bil-/. [istäk'] 'wish, desire'; [g'iläm] 'carpet'; [ziɑ̊dä] 'surplus'; [wid͡žiwit͡š] 'hissing or whispering sound'; [bišik' ~ bėsik'] 'cradle'; [diwɑ̊nä] 'insane'

[i̯] Reduced [i]. Devoiced between voiceless consonants. Occurs non-finally. Found in unstressed, usually initial, syllables, under same conditions as [i]. [i̯šk'äl] 'difficult'; [bi̯rg'ä] 'to (the) one'; [yi̯g'it] 'young man'

[ɨ] High-mid central to front-central, half-closed unrounded vowel, slightly lower when final. Except when final, does not occur next to /k, g, ŋ, y/. Not found before /t, ž, č, ǰ, w/, nor before /l/ except that in certain suffixes and in some occurrences of the sequences /pil-/ or /bil-/. Generally only when pre-

ceded by syllable with central vowel allophones [ɨ, a, ȯ, u̇] does it occur before /š/. Never found next to /q, x, ǧ/. [nɨmā] 'what?'; [birikkɨ] 'a few, a couple of'; [bɨrɨnt͡šɨ] 'first'; [yāxšɨlik' ~ yaxšɜlik'] 'goodness'; [pɨlāw ~ palɑ̄w] 'pilaf'

[ɨ̯] Reduced [ɨ]. Devoiced between voiceless consonants. Occurs interconsonantally in unstressed, often initial, syllables—under same conditions as [ɨ]. [bɨr ~ bɨ̯r ~ br] 'one, a'; [nɨ̯hɑ̄yät] 'end, limit'

[ï] High back-central rounded vowel. Occurs non-finally next to /q, x, ǧ/ and often in adjacent syllable. Does not follow [ɜ] of /i/. [ïyaq] 'chin'; [xïtɑ̄y] 'Chinese'; [ǧildïräk'] 'wheel'

[ï̯] Reduced [ï]. Occurs interconsonantally in unstressed syllables when next to /q, x, ǧ/ or in adjacent syllable. [qï̯sqa] 'short, brief'; [qï̯zïq] 'interesting'

[ɜ] Low-mid, back-central, half-open unrounded vowel. Occurs after syllable with non-front vowel allophone (excepting [ɨ]), and ordinarily in final syllables. [tärɔǧɜ] '(his) comb'; [ɑ̄tɑ̄dɜ] '(he) took'

[ɜ̯] Reduced [ɜ]. Occurs interconsonantally in unstressed syllables, under same conditions as [ɜ]. [qïzɜ̯nɜ] 'his (her) daughter (acc.)'

[ɨ̯] ~ [ɜ̯]
Not found next to /q, x, ǧ/. [ȯmbɨ̯r ~ ȯmbɜ̯r] 'eleven'; [xɔtnɨ̯sɨ̯ ~ xɔtnɜ̯sɜ̯] 'his wife'

[ï̯] ~ [ɜ̯]
Occurs in final syllable ending in /q, x, ǧ/. [ïssï̯q ~ ïssɜ̯q] 'hot'

/e/

[ɛ] Low-mid front, half-open unrounded vowel. Occurs after /y/ in non-initial syllables. May vary with [ė] or [e]. [bůyɛrdä ~ büɣɛrdä] 'here'; [půyɛma ~ půema] 'poem'

[ė] Very high-mid front, quite close, unrounded vowel, approaching [i]. Occurs interconsonantally in initial syllable. [kėltiriŋ] 'bring (pol. sg.)'; [mėŋgä ~ mäŋgä] 'to me'; [bėš] 'five'

[e] High-mid front, half-closed, unrounded vowel. Found elsewhere. [er] 'husband'; [balet] 'ballet'

[ɛ] ~ [ė] ~ [e]
In certain sequences of more than one syllable, especially where following syllable contains [ä]. [k'ɛlädɨ ~ k'ėlädɨ] '(he) comes, will come'; [úzbɛk' ~ ůzbek'] 'Uzbek'; [ȯmbeš ~ ȯmbɛš] 'fifteen'

/a/

[a] Very low back-central open unrounded vowel. Found next to or in syllable adjoining /q, x, ğ/, or occasionally a labial consonant. Except when next to /q, x, ğ/ it does not occur before /-mɔq/ or /-qan(t)/. Occurs in unassimilated Russian loans. [qanaqa] 'what kind of?, how?'; [x̌ayr] 'Goodbye'; [tağlär] 'mountains'; [partiya] 'party'; [sawet ~ sůwet ~ säwβet] 'soviet'

[ä] Low front open, quite long, unrounded vowel, more centralized before /k, g, h, ŋ, y/. Occurs elsewhere. Often found between /q, x, ğ/ and /y/ and/or in adjoining syllable. [g'üzäl] 'beautiful'; [x̌äyůɨ] 'imagination'; [ğäyrät] 'energy'

[a] ~ [ä]

Occurs in syllable not containing /q, x, ǧ/ but immediately following one with these consonants. Between /q, x, ǧ/ and /y/. Next to a labial consonant. [qulay ~ qulāy] 'convenient, easy'; [x̌ɔla ~ x̌ɔlä] 'mother's sister'

/ɔ/

[ɔ] Low back, rather long, rounded vowel. Next to, and sometimes in syllable adjoining, /q, x, ǧ/. [ɔrqa] 'back'; [x̌ɔrɔz] 'rooster'; [bɔǧ] 'garden'

[å] Very low back open, quite long, only slightly rounded vowel, lower and fronter than [ɔ]. Found elsewhere. [t͡šåy] 'tea'; [sändåt] 'industry'

/o/

[ö] High-mid front, half-closed, slightly rounded vowel. Relatively rare. Found next to or in syllable adjoining /k, g, y/. Often next to /t, š, č, ǰ/, occasionally /l/, provided following syllable does not contain a back allophone of a vowel (except in /-mɔq/), and provided /q, x, ǧ/ are not adjacent. [öldi̱riš] 'murder'; [ög'āy] 'foreign'; [k'öl] 'lake'

[o] High-mid back close rounded vowel. Next to, or in syllable adjoining, /q, x, ǧ/—but not necessarily before /-mɔq/. [yoq] 'nonexistent'; [šox] 'mischievous'; [oǧl] 'son'

[ȯ] High-mid back-central, somewhat close, slightly rounded vowel. Occurs elsewhere. Occasionally next to /t, š, č, ǰ/ and /l/, as well as /k, g, y/. [ȯrɜn ~ ȯrün] 'place'; [yȯl] 'road, way'

[ö] ~ [ȯ]

[d͡žöräy ~ d͡žȯräy] 'friend'

/u/

[ü] High front close moderately rounded vowel. Found next to or in syllable adjoining /k, g, y/. May occur next to /t, š, č, ǰ/, or occasionally a labial or /l/, provided following syllable does not contain a back allophone of a vowel (except in /-mɔq/), and provided /q, x, ǧ/ are not adjacent. Sometimes found in pronoun /u(l)/. [k'ündúz] 'day'; [g'ül] 'flower'; [d͡ǰüdā] 'very'; [hül] 'wet, damp'; [üniŋ] 'his, her, its, of that (distant)'

[ü̲] Reduced [ü]. Devoiced between voiceless consonants. Occurs in unstressed, usually initial, syllables. [tü̲šd̆w] 'path, way'; [šü̲nɬ] 'that (near; acc.)'

[u] High back close rounded vowel. Found next to or in syllable adjoining /q, x, ǧ/—but not necessarily before /-mɔq/. [yupqa] 'thin'; [xuš] 'agreeable, pleasant'; [ǧulu] 'noise'

[u̲] Reduced [u]. Occurs in unstressed, usually initial, syllables. [qušɜm] 'my bird'; [su̲ǧɔrɜš] 'irrigation'

[u̇] High back-central, rather close, slightly rounded vowel. Found elsewhere. Often also next to /t, š, č, ǰ/ and /l/, as well as /k, g, y/. [u̇zún] 'thin'; [tämbu̇r] 'a musical instrument'; [šu̇ɬ ~ šu̇] 'that (near)'; [tu̇t] 'hold!, take!'

[u̲̇] Reduced [u̇]. Devoiced between voiceless consonants. Found in unstressed, usually initial, syllables. [tu̲̇tún] 'smoke'; [pu̲̇lɜ] 'his (her) money'

[ū] ~ [u̇]
[y̲ūr ~ yu̇r] 'walk!'; [d͡ǰün ~ d͡ǰu̇n] 'wool, hair'

2.23. Free alternation among phonemes.

2.231. Consonants.

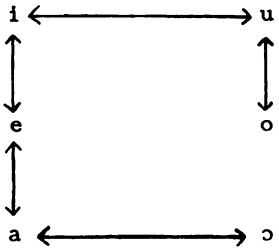
Certain consonants vary freely in standard speech in a number of sequences. Voiced stops and some voiced fricatives (and the voiced affricate) may alternate in final position with their voiceless counterparts; the voiceless phonemes appear more often, however. /maktab ~ maktap/ 'school'; /ɔbɔd ~ ɔbɔt/ 'populous'; /tug ~ tuk/ 'tie! start!'; /oğiz ~ oğis/ 'mouth';[2] /ilɔǰ ~ ilɔč/ 'possibility'

The following are some other common patterns of alternation. /ɸ/ ~ /p/, especially in medial position: e.g. /ittiɸɔq ~ ittipɔq/ 'union'; /f/ ~ /ɸ/ in Russian loans: /fɔrma ~ ɸɔrma/ 'form'; /b/ ~ /w/, in medial position: /kabɔb ~ /kawɔb/ 'shashlik'; /q/ ~ /x/, medially or finally: /toqsɔn ~ toxsɔn/ 'ninety'; /issiq ~ issix/ 'hot; heat'; /q/ ~ /ğ/, in final position: /pičɔq ~ pičɔğ/ 'knife'; /h/ ~ /x/: /rahmat ~ raxmat/ 'Thanks!'

2.232. Vowels.

Free alternation[3] among vowel phonemes is characteristic of many utterances, in large part because certain allophones belonging to different phonemes are quite similar in their articulation (Table 2). Note, for example, the close proximity of certain allophones of /i/ and /u/, as heard in alternating sequences like the following: [i] and [ü] in [k'iy̯aw] ~ [k'ü̯yaw] 'bridegroom, son-in-law'; [ɨ] and [u̯] in [tėmɨr] ~ [tėmu̯r] 'iron'; and [ï] and [u] in [yɔŋğ̈ir] ~ [yɔŋğur] 'rain'; or /e/ ~ /i/ in [yėydɨ] ~ [y̯iy̯dɨ] '(he) eats, will eat'; /o/ ~ /u/ in [o̯z] ~ [u̯z] 'self'

Among phonemes, the chief alternations are between those that are adjacent, for allophones belonging to different sound-classes may be interchanged—with resulting replacement of one phoneme by another. (It must be emphasized that these alternations occur in a restricted number of sequences.)



Examples of each type of alternation (the standard form is listed first) are: /nima ~ nema/ 'what?'; /neča ~ ničа/ 'how much? how many?'; /yeŋgil ~ yaŋgil/ 'easy; light'; /tag ~ teg/ 'bottom'; /qaynana ~ qaynɔna/ 'mother-in-law'; /qɔzɔn ~ qazan/ 'kettle'; /sɔŋ(ra) ~ suŋra/ 'later, after-(wards)'; /tuprɔq ~ toprɔq/ 'earth'; /sɔwuq ~ sɔwiq/ 'cold'; /tandir ~ tandur/ 'a kind of oven'. In a few instances non-adjacent, but still relatively close, vowel phonemes may alternate. /palɔw ~ pilaw/ 'pilaf'; /muallim ~ mɔallim/ 'teacher'

2.3. Stylistic variants.

Special social situations often call for stylistic deviations from the formal standard. And these involve some additional segmental phonemes. In the hypercorrect style: /ʔ/ (glottal stop or, more often, a slight constriction or diminution of voice volume) and /ː/ (vowel lengthening). One of the speakers also employs /v/ and /ʲ/ (palatalization).[4] In the colloquial and emphatic styles of both persons /ɨ/ is the only additional phoneme.

2.31. Hypercorrect style.

This speech variety is characterized by slower, more precise articulation and closer adherence to the written form—especially for Arabic, Persian, and Russian loans—than is the case in the ordinary, but still rather formal, discourse of educated persons. It could be termed "the elegant, spelling-pronunciation style."

/f/ and final /h/ become more common, /v/ and /ʲ/ may appear in Russian loans. /daɸtar/ > /daftar/ 'notebook'; /škap/ > /škaf/ 'cupboard'; /ɔwğɔni/ > /afğɔni/

'Afghan'; /sawxɔs/ > /sɔfxɔs/ 'sovkhoz'; /bismillɔ/ > /bismillɔh/ 'religious expression'; /abdulla/ > /abdullah/ 'Abdullah (man's name)'; /ergašewa/ > /ergaševa/ 'woman's surname'; /fewral/ > /fevral'/ 'February'; /yanwar/ > /yanvar'/ 'January'; /iyun/ > /iyun'/ 'June'

In addition, /ʔ/ (glottal stop) occurs sporadically in Arabic loans that originally contained hamza or 'ain and indicate such today in their written form. Where /ʔ/ occurs after a vowel and before a consonant, it may vary with /:/ in hyperformal speech. /bazi/ > /baʔzi ~ ba:zi/ 'some'; /malum/ > /maʔlum ~ ma:lum/ 'well known'; /ɸel/ > /feʔl ~ fe:l/ 'verb'

Where /ʔ/ is found before a vowel, it indicates a glottal stop or else a slight constriction, though either may be lacking even in highly formalized discourse. /masul/ > /masʔul ~ masul/ 'responsible'; /saɔdat/ > /saʔɔdat ~ saɔdat/ 'prosperity'; /sanɔat/ > /sanɔʔat ~ sanɔat/ 'industry'

Lengthened vowels may appear in certain other loans as well. /kɔperatif/ > /kɔ:peratif/ 'cooperative (n.)'; /salɔm ~ salam/ > /salɔ:m ~ sala:m/ 'greetings! welcome!'

2.32. Colloquial style.

This is the speech-style of educated persons which is more rapid and relaxed than the formal standard we have described.

2.321. Some consonant phonemes may replace others. /g/ > /y/ and /y/ > /g/ in certain sequences. /kigiz/ > /kiyiz/ 'felt (n.)'; /keyin/ > /kegin ~ kiyin/ 'after, afterwards'. In numerous utterances /ɸ/ > /p/ and /b/ > /w/, especially between vowels. /ɸaqat/ > /pakat/ 'only'; /aɸandi/ > /apandi/ 'a polite term'; /xabar/ > /xawar/ 'news'; /sabzi/ > /sawzi/ 'carrot'. Occasionally /b/ > /m/ and /t͡s/ > /s/. /bunday/ > /munday/ 'like this'; /prɔt͡sent/ > /prasan/ 'percentage'

In a few sequences an extra consonant appears: /beriŋ/ > /beriŋg/ 'give!'; /dɔira/ > /dɔyira ~ dɔrra/ 'circle'. /ğ/ may be inserted (where a glottal stop would appear in hyperformal discourse). /sɔat/ > /sɔğat/ 'hour, clock'; /malumat/ > /mağlumɔt/ 'knowledge'

In still other utterances a consonant is dropped or, occasionally, replaced by /:/—e.g. /buyerga/ > /biyega/ '(to) here'; /kiyim/ > /ki::m/ 'clothes'; /ilmiy/ > /ilmi/ 'scientific'; /oqituwči/ > /oqituči ~ oqutuči/ 'teacher'; /xɔhlaman/ > /xɔlaman/ 'I want, wish'

2.322. Quite often /i/, or sometimes /u/, replaces another vowel, is inserted between consonants or vowels, or appears initially before a consonant cluster: /maslahat/ > /maslihat/ 'advice'; /traktɔr/ > /traktir ~ tiraktir/ 'tractor'; /stul/|> /istul ~ ustul/ 'chair'; /stakan/ > /istakan ~ istakɔn/ '(drinking) glass'; /mehmɔn/ > /mihmɔn/ 'guest'

/a/ frequently replaces /ɔ/ or vice versa: /kabɔb ~ kawɔb/ /kawab/ 'shashlik'; /ɔwqat ~ awqat/ > /ɔwqɔt/ 'food, drink'

In a number of sequences a vowel is dropped. /kiši/ > /kši/ 'man, person'; /sɔwuq/ > /sɔwq ~ sauq/ 'cold'; /buyuriŋ/ > /buyriŋ/ 'please!'

Metathesis sometimes occurs in the shift to colloquial speech: /yɔŋğir/ > /yɔğmur/ 'rain'; /tuprɔq/ > /turpɔq/ 'soil, earth'

2.33. Emphatic style.

This is characterized by one or more of the following: extra-heavy stress [˝] (and, occasionally, nasalization [˜] of the vowel involved), insertion of /:/ in the syllable carrying strongest stress, abnormal position of primary stress, and gemination of normally single consonants: /há/ 'Yes' > /há:/ [hã̆:] 'Yes?; What do you want?'; /xáyr/ > /xá:yir/ 'Goodbye!'; /kop yaxšî/ > /kó::p yaxši/ 'Very good!'; /ğaɸúr/ > /ğá:ɸur/ [ğã̆:ɸúr] 'Ghaffar (man's name)'; /ešak/ > /ešak/ 'Donkey! Ass! (pejor.)'

2.4. Suprasegmental phonemes.

The patterns below apply mainly to the formal speech variety of the two Uzbeks, but they are generally valid for other styles as well.

2.41. Inventory of phonemes.

/+/ internal open juncture
/|/, /↑/, /↓/ terminal, or major, junctures
/ˊ/, /ˆ/, /ˋ/, /˘/ stresses
/³/, /²/, /¹/ pitches

2.411. Junctures.

/+/ is the normal transition—a very slight pause—between "phonological words" and is indicated herein by a space. When it occurs in careful speech next to "bound" morphemes, we insert /+/. /čiqti/ > /čiq+di/ '(he) went out'. /+/ contrasts with close juncture, which is the usual transition between phonemes and between syllables within morphemes. The shift from internal open to close juncture is often marked by changes in the adjacent phonological units. /on kitɔp/ > /oŋkitɔp/ 'ten books'

/|/ is non-final major juncture accompanied by level or rising pitch or, occasionally, a high-falling pitch pattern. It involves some prolongation of the immediately preceding segmental phonemes and a brief pause. /²siz| ³kah² wa| ²ičа³sizmi↑/ 'Will you drink some coffee?'; /³man|²uz³bek-¹man↓/ 'I am an Uzbek'; /²si³kin| ²si¹kin↓/ 'Very slowly (quietly)'; /²dostiŋgiz| ³-¹kim↓/ 'Who is your friend?'; /³yɔ²ki|/ 'or,'; /³har²bir insɔn|/ 'every man,'

/↑/ is final major juncture accompanied by a rise in pitch. It involves a longer prolongation of the preceding phonemes than does /|/ and is followed by silence. /²bilur-³sammi↑/ 'Do you (by any chance) know?'; /²-³ha:↑/ 'Yes? What do you want?'. It may mark a question or, occasionally, an emphatic statement.

/↓/ is final major juncture accompanied by falling pitch. It occurs only before silence and is characterized by a gradual slowing down and cessation of articulation. /²iš³lay¹man↓/ 'I work, will work'; /³lab²bay↓/ 'What did you say? What do you want?'

2.412. Stresses.

Stress is phonemic both on the word level and in longer utterances (i.e. the position of the various stresses can be significant for meaning). The stress patterns on the sentence level, however, are highly variable.

Some minimal contrasts between phonological words are: /qizginá/ 'little girl (affectionately)'; /qízgina/ 'only a girl'; /yɔzmá/ 'writing'; /yɔ́zma/ 'don't write!'; /bundá/ 'at this, in this'; /búnda/ 'this too'; /ɔtíŋ/ 'your horse'; /ɔ́tiŋ/ 'throw! shoot! (pol. sg.)'; /oqituwčimíz/ 'our

teacher': /oqituwčímiz/ 'we are teachers'; /matemátik/ 'mathematics': /matematík/ 'mathematical'; /átlas/ 'atlas': /atlás/ 'silk cloth'; /fízik/ 'physicist': /fizík/ 'physical'; /étik/ 'ethics': /etík/ 'boot'

2.4121. Primary stress.

Generally this falls on the final syllable of a. non-verbal words and phrases occurring before /|/ or as minor independent clauses; b. dependent clauses. In most cases the addition of suffixes to such sequences results in a shift of /´/ to the final syllable of the new utterance: /ortɔ́q/ 'friend' > /ortɔqlár/ 'friends' > /ortɔqlarí/ > 'his friends' > /ortɔqlarigá/ 'to his friends'; /tráktɔr/ 'tractor' > /traktɔrdá/ 'on the tractor'

The stress patterning for major independent clauses is quite different. Here, one or more enclitic particles appear finally in many sequences, and where no enclitics occur, /´/ very often falls on a non-final syllable. Compare the positions of primary stress in the following dependent clause-independent clause contrasts: /ɔzaymɔqtá/ 'in (the) decreasing, while decreasing,'; /ɔzaymɔqtádir↓/ 'It is becoming smaller'; /kelmagandá / 'when (he) didn't come,'; /kélmaganlar↓/ 'they haven't come'

2.41211. We shall treat in greater detail the patterning of primary stress in major independent clauses. First, however, we list certain categories of exceptions to the aforestated rule applying to other utterance-types. (Exceptions to some of these exceptions may result from changes in the number of syllables, due to elision or insertion of vowels for stylistic or morphophonemic reasons. These technicalities can not be examined here.)

A. In words and phrases occurring before /|/ or as minor clauses.

1. Primary stress falls on a non-final syllable in:

a. Certain Persian or Arabic loans (mainly adverbs and conjunctions): /albátta/ 'certainly'; /hátto ~ hattɔ́/ 'even'; /másalan/ 'for example'; /ámmɔ/ 'but, however'; /bázan/ 'sometimes'; /hámma/ 'all'; /lékin/ 'but'

b. Many Russian loans: /istánsiya ~ stánsa/ 'station'; /pɔ́:yiz ~ pɔyíst/ 'train'; /gram(m)átika/ 'grammar'; /mihánik/ 'mechanic'; /sántimetr/ 'centimeter'

c. Many interrogative words or phrases: /qánday/ 'how?'; /qáysi/ 'which?', but: /qaysí/ 'which? (emph.)'; /nímaga/ 'why?'

d. A few given names and geographical names (except when they carry suffixes or function as adjectives)—e. g. /lutɸúlla/ 'Lutfulla'; /lɔ́la/ 'Lola': /lɔlagá/ 'to Lola'; /táškent/ 'Tashkent': /taškendlí/ 'of Tashkent'; /ɔlmɔ́niya/ 'Germany'

e. Some interjections, special forms of address, and many given names in direct address, especially when the speaker calls from a distance: /afándim ~ apandím/ 'Mr.; sir!, gentlemen!'; /xáyir ~ xáyr/ 'Goodbye!'; /á:xmat/ 'Ahmad! (voc.)': /axmát/ 'Ahmad (citation form)'

2. Primary stress often coincides with the syllable immediately preceding:

a. Postpositions: /nimá-učun/ 'why?'; /undán-soŋra/ 'after that'; /bíz-kabi/ 'like us', but sometimes: /biz-kabí/; /koptán-beri/ 'a long time ago'

b. Enclitics (particles and derivational suffixes that normally are weakly stressed.)

/-ta/ 'unit reference marker attached to numeral or quantitative adjectives or nouns': /sakkísta/ 'nine'; /néčta/ 'how much? how many?'

/-dak ~ -dek ~ -day/ 'equative': /búnday/ 'like this'; /ɔltíndek/ 'like gold'

/-ča/ 'equative' (i. e. 'like, as'): with /-niŋ/, 'according to'; with /-ta/ (enclitic), 'about, approximately'; with /-ga ~ -ka ~ -qa/, 'as far as, up to': /miŋlárča/ 'like thousands, by thousands'; /kelgánča/ 'at the arrival'; /senίŋča/ 'according to you'; /qírqtača/ 'about fifty (adjective)'; /uyigáča/ 'as far as (her) house'; /búnča/ 'as much as this, like this'; /uzbékča/ 'in Uzbek'; /qáŋča/ 'how much? how many?' (i. e. 'like what?')

/-gina ~ -kina ~ -qina/ 'qualifying particle' (i. e. 'only, just, quite'): /ɔ́zgina/ 'just a little'; /balíqqina/ 'only a fish'; /kɔ́pkina/ 'quite a lot of'

/-sa/, /-dir/ 'indefinite': /nímadir/ 'whatever'; /kímsa/ 'someone, somebody'

/-ala/ 'collective': /yéttala/ 'seven in all'; /účala/ 'three together'

/-dir ~ -dur ~ -tir ~ -tur/ 'predicative (or copula) particle': /u kímdir/ 'who is (he)?'; /men studéntti r/ 'I am a student'

/-man/, /-san/, /-ϕ/, /-miz/, /-siz/ 'personal predicative particles': (see 4. 493.)

/-lar/ 'pluralizing particle': (see 4. 493.)

/-ma/, /-wa/, /-ki/ 'conjunctions (clitic)': /kočáma koča/ 'along the street (lit. street-and street)'; /kordíkwa keldik/ 'we came and saw'

/-a ~ -ya/, /-ɔq ~ -yɔq/, /-ku/ 'intensifying particles': /u yildáyɔq/ 'in that same year'; /hɔzirdánɔq/ 'from this very moment'; /séŋku/ 'you!'

/-da/, /-u ~ -yu/, /-ham/ 'conjunctions and intensifying particles': /bundáham/ 'in this also!'; /bízda/ 'we, too!'

/-mi/ 'interrogative particle': /bu yaŋgími | eskímí/ 'is this new or old?'; /ilɔ́ji yóqmi/ 'isn't it possible? (lit. its-possibility is-it-non-existent?)'

/-či/ 'interrogative (and qualifying) particle' (i. e. 'and, but, please'): /sísči/ 'and you (pol. sg., pl.)?'

/-kan ~ -kin/ 'dubitative particle': /keldímikin/ 'did (he) really come?'

3. Primary stress tends to fall on certain modifying adverbs and on numeral adjectives: /tím/ 'completely'; /kop/ 'very'; /judá/ 'very'; /éŋ/ 'the most'; /ɔltí kun/ 'six days'

4. Primary stress falls on certain derivational prefixes: /álla-/ 'indefinite'; /sér-/ 'much (adjective formant)'; /nɔ́-/ 'negative'

5. Primary stress falls on the first syllable of the intensifying particle (formed by partial reduplication of the word it modifies) /$C^1\acute{V}^1$+-p- ~ -ppa- ~ -b- ~ -m- ~ -s-/:

/kóm-kok/ 'very blue': /kok/ 'blue, green'; /sɔ́ppa-sɔǧ/ 'exceedingly strong': /sɔǧ/ 'strong, healthy'

6. Primary stress falls on the final syllable of the first word in a compound, where the first element is a quantitative adjective or of the same word class as the last element: /ɔtá-ɔna/ 'parents': /ɔta/ 'father' (noun), /ɔna/ 'mother' (noun); /toǧrí-dan-toǧri/ 'directly, to the point': /toǧri/ 'true, correct; truthfully, correctly'; /yaŋgí-yaŋgi/ 'very new': /yaŋgi/ 'new'; /bír-narsa/ 'something, somewhat': /bir/ 'one' (adjective), /narsa/ 'thing' (noun); /héč-nima/ 'nothing, something': /heč/ 'no; any' (adjective), /nima/ 'what?' (noun).
Note: This pattern only occasionally holds for compound numeral adjectives or numeral nouns: /ón-tort ~ on-tórt/ 'fourteen': /on/ 'ten', /tort/ 'four'

Where the first and last word in the compound are not members of the same word class, primary stress generally coincides with the final syllable of the compound (i. e. the pattern is as in phrases): /kasal-xɔná/ 'hospital': /kasal/ 'sick' (adjective), /xɔna/ 'room, building' (noun); /yɔmɔn kór-/ 'to hate': /yɔmɔn/ 'badly' (adverb), /kor-/ 'to see' (verb).

However, in compounds made up of verbs, verbal nouns, or gerunds (or postpositions or particles), primary stress usually coincides with the final syllable of the first word: /ɔlíb-beriŋ/ 'bring (it) (pol. sg.)!': /ɔlip/ 'taking, receiving' (gerund), /beriŋ/ 'give!' (finite verb); /sɔtíb-ɔliš/ 'buying': /sɔtip/ 'selling, having sold' (gerund), /ɔl-/ 'to take, receive' (verb) (the derivational suffix /-iš/ is added to the compound /sɔtip ɔl-/ 'to buy'); /ɔlíp-sɔtar/ 'reselling, retailing, speculating': /ɔlip/ 'taking, receiving' (gerund), /sɔtar/ 'selling' (verbal noun)—but cf. the specialized construction /ɔlip-sotár/ 'second-hand dealer, middleman'

B. In dependent clauses.

The final syllable before /|/, except in the case of an enclitic, takes /´/: /išlašim esá|/ 'if my working is,'; /kerak bolsá|/ 'if it is necessary,'; /bolsá-ham|/ 'if it is (emphatic),'; /korsá-da|/ 'even if (he) sees,'; /seni buni istasáŋ| wa istamasáŋ-da|/ 'whether you like it or not,

(lit. your this-acc. your-contingent-wanting and your-contingent-not-wanting-emphatic particle)'; /agar u bolsa edí/ 'if (it) had been, become,; if (it) were,'

C. In major independent clauses.

Such utterances are of two kinds: 1. equational, and 2. non-equational.

1. Equational clauses fall into several types in the matter of stress.

a. The center of the predicate is a noun, pronoun, adjective, or adverb, not followed by any form of the auxiliary verbs /bol- ~ bul-/ 'to be, become' and /e-/ 'to be'. Here the head of the predicate carries primary stress unless it is one of the following: /bɔr/ 'existent', /yoq/ 'non-existent', /kerak/ 'necessary'—if it is, then the subject carries /´/.

/bɔrišim zarúr/ 'I must go (lit. my-going is-necessary)'; /bɔlalar kóp/'there are many children'; /nɔ́n bɔr/ 'there is bread'; /men yeganím yoq/ 'I haven't eaten'; /yemɔq istamasám kerak/ 'I may not want to eat'

b. The center of the predicate is a noun, pronoun, adjective, or adverb followed by some form of /bol- ~bul-/ or /e-/, or by an enclitic particle. Here the center of the predicate (including /bɔr/, /yoq/, and /kerak/) takes /´/.

/nɔn bɔ́r edi/ 'there was bread'; /men yeganim yóq edi/ 'I had not eaten'; /qánday boladi/ 'what is it like?'; /kasál ekansan/ '(we heard that) you were sick'; /ham bɔ́r ekan/ '(we heard that) there also is'; /nimá edi/ 'what was it?'; /bɔrišimiz kerák emas/ 'we must not come'; /pul yóqmi/ 'isn't there money?'

Note: Where the head of the predicate is followed by the verbal noun /emas/ + /bol- ~bul-/ or /e-/, primary stress coincides with the final syllable of /emas/. /oquwči emás edim/ 'I was not a student'

c. The clause terminates in more than one enclitic particle. Here, /´/ falls on the penultimate or, occasionally, the antepenultimate (especially where /-mi/ precedes /-kan ~ -kin/).

/sɔğmɪ́san/ 'are you well?'; /kuldimɪ́kin/ 'did (he) really laugh?'; /siz studéntmisiz/ 'are you a student?'; /sen ortɔğɪ́mdursan/ 'you are my friend'; /eski emasdúrmiz/ 'we are not old'; /yɔš xizmatčɪ́dirlar/ 'they are young employees'; /kelišádimi/ 'will they come together?'

2. Non-equational clauses have a finite verb as predicate. Usually /´/ falls on the syllable preceding the personal suffix (especially where this is one of the enclitic personal predicative particles). Personal suffixes appear after the hyphen.

/bolaǰák-man/ 'I will be, become'; /kél-iŋgizlar/ 'come! (to a group)'; /kór-sin ~ kór-sinlar/ 'let them see, may they see'; /qará-ŋ/ 'look (pol. sg.)!'; /kiyíp-siz/ '(apparently) you (pol. sg., pl.) put (it) on'; /ketkán-ϕ/ '(he) has left'

Exceptions to this pattern occur, especially in verbal constructions with personal endings other than the personal predicative particles (6. 32.).

a. In compounds of one gerund or verbal noun + finite verb, /´/ falls on the final syllable of the first element. /oqíp qɔldi-ϕ/ '(he) continued reading'; /ketá ber-ϕ/ 'keep going! go quickly!'; /korgán edim/'I had seen'. (Does not hold if finite verb is negative—see c., below.)

b. In constructions with a derived verbal stem formed from verb stems by the addition of causative-transitive, passive and/or reflexive, or reciprocal-cooperative voice formants, /´/ may be found on any syllable of the derived stem. /kúydirgan-ϕ/ '(he) burned (it)'; /otíra-man/ 'I'll sit down'; /kéltirma-ŋgizlar/'don't bring! (to a group)'; /ešitɪ́ldi-ϕ/ '(it) was heard'; /gaplášti-ϕ-lar/ 'they conversed'

c. /´/ coincides with or precedes the negative morpheme /-ma-/, except where some other pattern discussed in this section (C. 2.) takes precedence. /kórmagan-ϕ-lar/ 'they haven't seen'; /gapɪ́rma-sin/ 'don't let (him) say, speak'; /oqimás-miz/ 'we don't read, study (hab.), will not read, study (poss.)'; /bera ólmas-miz/ 'we (poss.) can't give'; /yemɔqta emás edim/ 'I was not (in the process of) eating'; /čɪ́qmaydi/ '(he) doesn't go out, come out'

d. The position of primary stress varies considerably in verbal constructions containing the tense-aspect formant /-a- ~ -y- ~ -ϕ-/. /uxlǽy-dilar/ 'they sleep, will sleep'; /išlamayaǰǽk-ϕ-lar/ 'they don't work, won't work'; /yɔ́zmay-dilar/ 'they don't write, will not write'; /bílmayaǰak-ϕ/ '(he) will not know'; /korǽ-di ~ kɔ́ra-di/ '(he) sees, will see'; /bɔšlanǽ-di/ '(it) is beginning (intr.)'; /sɔ́zlay-san ~ sozlǽy-san/ 'you say, speak; will say, speak'

However, the 1st person sg. ending is apt to be heavily stressed, except in negative constructions. /gapira-mǽn/ 'I talk, will talk'; /tušuna-mǽn/ 'I understand, will understand'; /xɔhlay-mǽn/ 'I want, wish': /xɔhlamǽy-man/ 'I don't want, wish'

e. The aspect formant /-yɔtir-/, which follows /-a- ~ -y- ~ -ϕ-/, is usually heavily stressed on its first syllable, except when followed by interrogative or intensifying enclitic particles, or under conditions of special emphasis. /yɔzayɔ́tir-man/ 'I am (in the process of) writing'; /oqiyɔ́tir-ϕ-lar/ 'they are reading, studying'; /išlayɔtír-mi/ 'is (he) working?'; /kétayɔtir-ϕ ~ ketǽyɔtir-ϕ/ '(he) is (in the process of) leaving!'

f. The position of /ˊ/ in preterite constructions is extremely variable. /kettí-m ~ kétti-m/ 'I left, went (away)'; /kɔ́rdi-ϕ-lar/ 'they saw'; /qaradi-ϕ-lǽr/ 'they looked'; /sɔ́zlamadi-ϕ-lar/ 'they didn't say, speak'; /kulmǽdi-ŋ/ 'you didn't laugh'

g. In the 1st person only of the imperative-subjunctive-optative, /ˊ/ often falls on the first syllable of the personal suffix. /et-ǽy(in)/ 'may I eat, let me eat, I want to eat'; /kor-ǽylik ~ kɔ́r-aylik/ 'may we see, we want to see'; /bermǽ-y(in)/ 'don't let me give, I want to give'

2.41212. [ˊ], extra-loud stress, is an allophone of /ˊ/, occurring only in conjunction with extra-high pitch [^{4}], an allophone of pitch phoneme /^{3}/ (see 2.4131.). Its presence may induce a shift in the normal position of heaviest stress and/or cause vowel lengthening. [^{2}bilur^{4}mí$^{2-1}$siz↓] 'do you (pol. sg., pl.) (by any chance) know?'; [^{2}bɔrdi$^{4-1}$dǽ::↓] 'so (he) went?!'

2.4122. Secondary stress.

This normally is found in prosodic units (sequences bounded by major junctures) containing at least three syllables—four or more in the case of sequences terminating in enclitics. /kêyinrɔx/ 'later': /keyín/ 'after(wards)'; /kôp yaxšídur/ '(it) is very good': /yaxšídur/ '(it) is good'

/^/ may, however, occur in two-syllable clauses consisting of an abrupt command or a proper name spoken with special emphasis or in two-syllable equational clauses. /jím bûl/ 'be quiet!'; /râ:xím/ 'Rahim (man's name)'; /nɔn yê/ 'get some bread!'; /púl bɔ̂r/ 'there is money'; /kírma/ 'don't come in!'

In prosodic units consisting of three to five syllables, secondary stress tends to occur two or three syllables before primary stress. /iščîlariŋgíz/ 'your (pol. sg., pl.) workers'; /mâktabdágina/ 'only in school'; /yaxšî oqíydi/ '(he) studies well'; /kârimá/ 'Karima (woman's name)'

In sequences of six or more syllables, the position of secondary stress is more variable, but it is usually found at least two syllables before primary stress. /qišlɔqlârimizdagí/ 'which is in our villages'

2.41221. Some major categories of exceptions to the above patterns of secondary stress are observable.

A. In words and phrases occurring before /|/ or as minor clauses.

In sequences which carry primary stress on a non-final syllable (2.41211.A.), secondary stress tends to fall on the final syllable—except where enclitics or certain other morphemes occur finally. /hɔzirgâča/ 'up to now': /hɔzir/ 'now; present'; /hár-qančâ/ 'however much'; /héč-qanaqâ/ 'not one; not at all'; /sizlár-bilân/ 'with you (pl.)'; /kelganidán-burûn/ 'until (it) finally comes'; /kundán-kuŋgâ/ 'from day to day'; /yurîb-yurîp/ 'walking and walking'; /korá-korâ/ 'again and again'

B. In dependent clauses.

An enclitic conjunction occurring immediately before /|/ often carries secondary stress. /korsáhâm/ 'if he also sees,'; /ayttîkî/ 'he said that ...'

C. In independent clauses.

1. Equational clauses.

Secondary stress generally falls on the subject, where primary stress appears on the center of the predicate. /bizlâr xabarčilármiz/ 'we are messengers'; /bolsâ kerák edi/ 'it may (might) have been': /bolsa/ 'its-contingent-being'

If, however, the clause ends in just one of the following: /bɔr/, /yoq/, /kerak/, /bol- ~ bul-/, /e-/, and no "sentence" enclitic follows, this final element takes /ˆ/. /bolsá kerâk/ 'it may (might) be'; /púl yôq/ 'there is no money'

If a subject is lacking, secondary stress will coincide with the auxiliary verb /bol- ~ bul-/ or /e-/, where this is present. /qánday bôladi/ 'what is it like?'; /kasál ekânsan/ '(we heard that) you were sick'; /nimá edî/ 'what was it?'

2. Non-equational clauses.

In rather short prosodic units the subject, especially if it is a noun rather than a pronoun, will carry secondary stress. But where a subject is lacking, or in some cases where it is a pronoun, secondary stress shows the following patterns of occurrence:

a. In compounds of a single verbal noun or gerund with an auxiliary verb, secondary stress usually falls on the auxiliary, unless this is negative. /korgán bôlaman/ 'I will have seen'; /olíp qôldi/ '(he) dropped dead'

b. In certain imperative constructions forming short prosodic units, the finite verb may carry secondary stress. /pulní kêltriŋ/ 'bring the money (pol. sg.)'

c. /ˆ/ coincides with the final syllable of a verb stem ending in the negative morpheme or a denominative verbal formant and carrying the abrupt singular imperative suffix /-ϕ/. /bɔšlámâ-ϕ/ 'don't begin!'; /tašwírlâ-ϕ/ 'sketch (it)!'; /otírmâ/ 'don't sit down!'

d. The imperfective gerund, when it appears in compounds with finite verbs containing the perfective gerund formant functioning as a tense-mode-aspect marker, is likely to carry secondary stress. /yɔzâ yɔtírman/ 'I am

continuing to write'. And before finite auxiliary verbs in /yɔt- ~yat-/, /tur-/, /otir-/, or /yur-/, even the perfective gerund may take secondary stress. /yɔ̂ziptûripsan/ 'you are in the process of writing'

e. A single verbal noun or gerund appearing before a negative auxiliary verb often takes /ˆ/. /bêra ɔ́lmaysan ~ bêrɔ́lmaysan/ 'you won't be able to give'; /men yemɔqtâ bulmáyman/ 'I won't be eating'; /bulgân emásman/ 'I have not been, become'

2.4123. Tertiary stress.

A. In words and phrases occurring before /|/ or as minor clauses (as well as in relatively short clauses of other types).

Tertiary stress, /ˋ/, tends to fall on or near the initial syllable. /šahàrlarimîzdagilár/ 'the things that are in our cities'; /ɔrtɔǧíŋ-bilân/ 'with your friend'; /ìšlâmaymámmi/ 'don't I work?'; /ɔqištáŋ-keyîn/ 'after reading, studying'

Sometimes, however, it is found after secondary stress: /qišlɔ̂qimìzgá/ 'to our village'; /yaxšî emàsdûrlar/ 'they are not good'

B. In major independent clauses.

1. Equational clauses (with a subject).

a. When the adjective /kerak/ follows a verbal noun in /-sa-/ but does not precede /e-/, it takes /ˋ/. /yemagân bolsám keràk/ 'I may have eaten'

b. The auxiliary /e-/ takes tertiary stress when it immediately follows /bɔr/, /yoq/, or /kerak/. /yìya bilmasâm kerák edì/ 'I might not have been able to eat': /yiya bilmasam/ 'my-contingent-not-being-able to eat' (subject).

2. In non-equational clauses.

a. A verbal noun or gerund takes tertiary stress on its final syllable when it immediately precedes /emas/ with primary stress + finite auxiliary in /e-/ with secondary stress. /kelìp emás edî/ '(he) was not coming';

/yemɔqtà emás edîm/ 'I was not eating': cf. /yemɔqtá| emás edîm/ 'I was not eating'

b. A verbal noun or gerund that immediately precedes a verbal noun or gerund with a negative finite auxiliary verb takes /ˇ/. /oqĭy ɔlâ bilmáydi/ '(he) doesn't know how to read, study'

c. /e-/ receives tertiary stress when it follows a verbal compound. /berâ ɔlmás èdilar ~ berɔ̂lmás èdilar/ 'they weren't able to give'; /kórgan bulûr edîm/ 'I would have seen'

2.4124. Weak stress.

This is generally carried by enclitics, but it may also be found on those syllables of longer utterances that do not receive primary, secondary, or tertiary stress. /sîz ŭzbékmĭ/ 'are you an Uzbek?'; /bĭlmáydĭ/ '(he) doesn't know'; /ìščĭlârĭmĭzdán/ 'from our workers'; /bîz yăxšĭ| ĕmâs dŭrmĭs/ 'we are not good'

2.4125. Remarks concerning stress in general.

1. Although primary stress tends to occur toward the end of sentences, secondary or tertiary stress may be encountered here if some other morpheme is given special emphasis and, therefore, primary stress. /ù čɔy ĭčăyɔ̂tĭr/ '(he) is drinking tea'. The following are contrasts between the stress phonemes resulting from a shift in emphasis. /ŏqûwčĭ jŭrnàlnĭ ŏqĭdĭ/ 'The student read the journal (normal)': /ŏqùwčĭ jŭrnálnĭ ŏqîdĭ/ 'The student read the journal': /ŏqúwčĭ jŭrnâlnĭ ŏqìdĭ/ 'The student read the journal'

2. In a series of coordinate phrases, or clauses, sequences of similar construction and stress (and pitch) patterns may, when conjoined, become differentiated. /mâktăbdá| bɔzɔ̆rgâ↓/ 'to school and to market': /mâktăbdá/ 'to school', /bɔ̂zɔ̆rgá/ 'to market'; /ù hám ĕmâs| bú hàm ĕmâs↓/ 'it's neither this nor that'

Or, stress (and pitch) in a series of coordinate phrases or clauses may be found in abnormal positions—such occurs, for example, in a listing of items: /mántĭ| ŝórwɔ̂| méwălâr| wăsâbzĭ/ 'pastry, soup, fruits, and vegetables'

3. In quite long, rapidly enunciated sentences, rhythmic alternation of stresses often occurs, overriding some of the patterns of stress described earlier. The heavier stresses tend to spread out over prosodic units and/or clauses in such a way that the syllabic intervals between the main stresses become somewhat more equalized. The neighboring syllables, then, become rhythmically strengthened or weakened in accordance with the position of the strongest stresses.

2.413. Pitches.

Pitch is phonemic not on the word level—as is stress—but only on the sentence level: i.e. in prosodic units terminating in a final major juncture phoneme.

2.4131. High pitch.

In the Tashkent dialect /³/ is most often encountered at the onset of primary stress.[5] And primary stress tends to fall on the final syllable before /|/, as well as often before /↑/ (or on the penultimate if an enclitic occurs last). It is also found on words or phrases given special emphasis. /³mén| ²yɔ̂šlĭgĭn³dá | ²màtĕmâtĭkă³dá| ²yăxšîbŏl³gán¹măn↓/ 'When I was a child, I was good at mathematics'; /²ŭ šâhăr³dán| ²kêtă³dĭrmĭ↑/ 'Is (he) leaving (going to leave) the city?'; /²jŭ³dá| ²jŭ³dá| ³ɪssɪq↓/ 'It is very hot!'

/³/ sometimes appears on a lightly stressed syllable just before or after one with primary stress. /²bĭz³lár| ³hár²kŭnî| ²săkkîssɔ̆³at| ³ɪšlăy¹mĭz↓/ 'We work eight hours every day'; /³yɔ̂²kĭ|/ 'or, . . .'; /³⁻²úl|/ 'he, '; /²hát³tɔ̆|/ 'even'

2.41311. Extra-high pitch [⁴], an allophone of /³/, may replace [³] in syllables given special emphasis.

2.4132. Medium pitch.

In most cases this is found at the beginning of utterances, coinciding usually with secondary or tertiary stress, only occasionally with weak stress. /²mĕnîŋ ɔ̆tîm yăx³šĭ| ²àmmɔ̆ sɪznĭkî jŭdâ yăx³šĭ¹dĭr↓/ 'My horse is good, but yours is very good'; /²ɔ̆l³tĭ²kûn|/ 'four days,'. Occasionally /²/ is found before /↓/. /¹êrtă³⁻²gá↓/ 'Tomorrow!'

2.4133. Low pitch.

Often in combination with /³/, this typically accompanies the syllable or syllables just preceding final major juncture, /↓/, in utterances that are statements (including emphatic ones) or questions containing interrogative nouns, adjectives, or adverbs (or sometimes an interrogative particle). /²îšlă³gán¹mɤz↓/ 'We worked'; /²ăkbàr qă³čɔn ¹kêldɤ↓/ 'When did Akbar come?'; /²čɔy³bɔr¹mɤ↓/ 'Is there tea?'; /²kêtmɔq ³čɾ¹mɤ↓/ 'Is (he) going (intending to go)?'; /²ù kêtăyɔ³tɾr¹mɤ↓/ 'Is (he) (in the process of) going?'

Though /¹/ is most often found in conjunction with weak stress, it may occur with any stress, including /´/ where the latter falls on a final syllable: /²bɔ̂rmă³-¹gán↓/ '(He) didn't go'; /²mênɤŋ ŏğ³-²lɾm| ²mûăl ¹lɾm↓/ 'My son is a teacher'; /³-¹kɾm↓/ 'Who?'

2.4134. An example of contrasting pitch phonemes: /¹êr²tă³gá↓/ 'Tomorrow?': /¹êrtă³-²gá↓/ 'Tomorrow!'

2.5. Orthography.

The following is the official Cyrillic alphabet for Uzbek (the letters appear in official alphabetical order), along with the phonemic equivalent for each of the signs in standard Tashkent speech.

TABLE 3

THE UZBEK ALPHABET

Аа		/a/	Сс		/s/
Бб		/b/	Тт		/t/
Вв		/w/	Уу		/u/
Гг		/g/	Фф		/f/, /ɸ/
Дд		/d/	Хх		/x/
Ее		*	Цц		/ʦ/
Ёё		/yɔ/	Чч		/č/
Жж		**	Шш		/š/
Зз		/z/	Ъъ		See explanation (2. 52.)
Ии		/i/	Ьь		
Йй		/y/	Ээ		/e/
Кк		/k/	Юю		/yu/
Лл		/l/	Яя		/ya/
Мм		/m/	Ўў		/o/
Нн		/n/	Ққ		/q/
Оо		/ɔ/	Ғғ		/ǧ/
Пп		/p/	Ҳҳ		/h/
Рр		/r/			

* /ye/ initially or after a vowel or Ъ, Ь; /e/ elsewhere

** Usually /j/; /ž/ in Russian loans and a few Uzbek words

2.51. Illustrations of some contrasting forms.

ёки /yɔkı/ 'or': йўқ /yoq/ 'non-existent'; хайт/хayt/ 'man's name': ҳайит /hayit/ 'holiday, feast'; эр/er/ 'husband': ер /yer/ 'land, place'

2.52. Explanation of two special signs.

2.521. The letter ъ. In Russian loans, before the letter е, ъ stands for /y/—i.e. it indicates that the following е is to be realized as /ye/: субъект /subyekt/ 'subject'. In some other Russian loans ъ also may occur, for example, before ё, though it serves no function in Uzbek: съёмка /syɔmka/ 'plan, survey'

In Arabic loans containing hamza or 'ain, and here generally only in hyperformal speech, ъ may be realized as a glottal stop /ʔ/. Where it follows a vowel and precedes a consonant it may, within this style, vary with /:/. Before a vowel it may be replaced by a slight constriction or even disappear (see 2.31.). An example of ъ after a vowel and before a consonant: шеър 'poem'—in standard usage /šĕr/, in more elegant speech /šeʔr/ or /še:r/.

An instance of ъ before a vowel: масъуд 'fortunate'—pronounced /masud/ in ordinary usage, either /masʔud/ or /masud/ in more precise speech.

Note: The writing system does not mark the glottal stop in Arabic loans where this occurs between two vowels—e.g. соат 'hour, clock'—in ordinary usage /sɔat/, in hyperformal speech /sɔʔat/ or /sɔat/.

2.522. The letter ь is restricted to Russian loans. Standing before е it denotes /y/—i.e. it indicates that the following letter е is to be realized as /ye/: васильева /vasilyeva/ 'feminine surname'. In highly russianized Uzbek ь may also be expressed as palatalization of the preceding consonant: июль /iyul'/ 'July'. In other Russian loans, however, it may serve no real function in Uzbek: судья /sudya/ 'judge'. Cf. the orthography of a traditional Uzbek word: ҳадя /hadya/ 'gift'.

2.53. The orthography diverges in a few important respects from the standard educated pronunciation of Tashkent.

One Uzbek phoneme, /ŋ/, is represented by two letters, нг. But such is not always consistent with standard pronunciation. Cf. сўнгра /soŋra/ 'after' with унга /uŋga/ 'to him'. In the first example нг represents /ŋ/, in the second /ŋg/. Also, н before б represents /m/, not /n/. шанба /šamba/ 'Saturday', анбар /ambar/ 'amber', etc.

The use of о in the writing of numerous words often does not accord with standard educated Tashkent speech—e.g. тошкент 'Tashkent' is very frequently pronounced /taškent/, бухоро 'Bokhara' as /buxara/, and so on.

Notes

1. Additional data are contained in: Andrée F. Sjoberg, "The Phonology of Standard Uzbek," in Nicholas N. Poppe (ed.), American Studies in Altaic Linguistics, 13 (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1962), 237-61.

2. Despite the fact that final /z/ is already slightly devoiced, it may vary with /s/. /z/ and /s/ do, of course, occasionally contrast in final position—e.g. /tarwuz/ 'melon': /maxsus/ 'individual, special'.

3. For a discussion of some of the probable historical factors leading to the considerable free alternation among vowel phonemes today, see: Sjoberg, op. cit.

4. In the hypercorrect style, /v/ contrasts with /w/—e.g. /aliyeva/ 'woman's surname (Uzbeks in USSR)': /sewa/ 'to love, loving (ger.)'. Some contrasts for /ʔ/ are: /sĕʔr/ 'poem, poetry': /šer/ 'lion'; /maʔnɔ|~ maʔna/ 'meaning, understanding': /mana/ 'here'; for|/ '/: /yanvar'/ 'January': /daɸtar/ 'notebook'

5. This pattern is rather different from that in certain Uzbek dialects which have preserved a degree of vowel harmony (on the phonemic level)—e.g. the Namangan dialect (on the basis of my own field data) and that of Andijan: Stefan Wurm, "Über Akzent und Tonverhältnisse im Özbekischen," Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher, XXV (1953), 220-42.

In the Tashkent dialect the frequent occurrence of primary stress (and highest pitch) on a final or near-final

syllable is apparently related to the general destruction of vowel harmony on the phonemic level. That is, the shift of prime emphasis to a more final syllable seems to reflect the reduced prominence of the vowels of initial syllables over those that follow.

3. PHONOTACTICS AND MORPHOPHONOLOGY

3.1. Phonotactics.

3.11. Distribution of segmental phonemes in formal speech.

All but /ŋ/ are found initially in phonological words and longer utterances (i.e. in sequences between juncture phonemes). All occur medially and finally. However, /e, o/ rarely appear finally, and /b, d, g, z, ǰ/ show only limited occurrence in this position.

3.111. Any consonant phoneme but /f, ž, x, ğ, h, t͡s, č, ǰ, ŋ/ may occur geminately and, as such, may contrast with itself — e.g. /nɔni/ 'his bread': /nɔnni/ 'the bread (acc.)'; /qatiq/ 'yogurt': /qattiq/ 'difficult'. However, in quite rapid formal discourse, geminate consonants tend to be reduced to single units.

As to non-geminate consonant clusters, those that combine stops, fricatives, and/or affricates (i.e. all consonants but /m, n, ŋ, w, l, r, y/) normally exhibit the same voicing quality — except that in some sequences /ɸ f, s, š/ may combine with a voiced consonant. (However, syllable boundary — and therefore a possible occurrence of internal open juncture — lies between the two consonants). /afzal ~abzal/ 'better, best'; /ɔsbɔp/ 'tool, instrument'; /qɔzɔğstɔn/ 'Kazakhstan'; /nisbatan/ 'with regard to, compared with'; /ušbu/ 'this'; /qašğar/ 'Kashgar (city in E. Turkestan)'; /masǰit ~masčit ~mačit/ 'mosque'.

Another important pattern: /ǰ/ [d͡ž] does not appear before /d/. (Where the writing system indicates /ǰ/ in this position, /ž/ actually occurs.)

3.112. Vowels can cluster in standard speech, but they do not occur geminately. (In the hyperformal, colloquial, and emphatic speech varieties a vowel phoneme may

combine with a phoneme of length /:/.) /aerɔpɔrt/ 'airport'; /teɔriya/ 'theory'; /nawɔiy/ 'Navoi (famous Uzbek writer)'; /beɔr/ 'insolent'; /radiɔ/ 'radio'.

In more rapid discourse vowel clusters tend to be replaced by sequences of /w/ or /y/ plus a vowel, or the two vowels may be separated by epenthetic /w/ or /y/. /dɔira/ > /dɔyira ~ dɔrra/ 'circle'; /ahuɔl/ > /ahwɔl/ 'condition'; /teatr/ > /tiyatr/ 'theater'; /šariat/ > /šariyat/ 'Islamic sacred law'

3.113. All geminate consonants and vowel clusters are spread over two syllables — e.g. /aw.wal/ 'first, at first, earlier'; /ra.is/ 'chairman'

3.12. The Syllable.

In Uzbek every syllable contains one vowel — the highest point of sonority (i.e. the locus of stress). The smallest syllabic unit consists of a single vowel. Longer ones comprise a vowel preceded or followed by one or more consonants (and, in special styles, a vowel plus /:/ with or without one or more consonants).

Syllable division occurs between a vowel and the following consonant, unless that consonant is word-final or forms part of a consonant cluster. If the consonant in question is part of a two-consonant cluster that is in turn followed by a vowel, the syllable break occurs between the two consonants. In the case of three-consonant clusters, the syllable boundary lies after the first two consonants.

All segmental phonemes but /ŋ/ occur initially in syllables. All occur medially and finally.

3.121. Syllable-types in traditional Uzbek words (and in recent loans).

Syllable	As complete word	Various positions within word
V	/u/ 'he, she, it, that (distant)'; /a/ 'but, and; yes'	/ɔ.id/ 'concerning'; /dɔ.i.mi/ 'continual'; /dɔ.a ~ du.ɔ/ 'prayer'

Syllable	As complete word	Various positions within word
CV	/bu/ 'this'; /wa/ 'and'	/de. ra. za/ 'window'; /pax. ta/ 'cotton'
VC	/er/ 'husband'; /oy/ 'thought, idea'	/ʔen. di/ 'now'; /sɔ. at. či/ 'watchman'; /ši. ɔr/ 'motto, sign'
CVC	/bor/ 'chalk'; /suw/ 'water'	/hay. wɔn/ 'animal'; /ta. naɸ ɸus/ 'change, recess'
VCC	/ilk/ 'first'; /ust/ 'top, upper part'	/ɔst. ki/ 'low, inferior'; (not found as medial syllable); /te. atr/ 'theater' (occurs finally in a multisyllabic word only in recent loans)
CVCC	/qalp/ 'heart'; /husn/ 'beauty'	/hawɸ. li/ 'dangerous'; /qor. qinč. li/ 'terrible, dangerous'; /da. raxt/ 'tree'

3.122. Syllable-types in recent borrowings (mainly through Russian).

Syllable	As complete word	Various positions within word
CCV	——	/prɔ. t͡sent/ 'percentage'; /stu. dent/ 'student'
CCVC	/plan/ 'plan'; /stul/ 'chair'	/stan. t͡si. ya/ 'station'; /tram. way/ 'streetcar'
CCVCC	/blaŋk/ 'blank, form'; /spɔrt/ 'sport'	/trans. pɔrt/ 'transport'; /sin. tyabr/ 'September (hypercorrect)'
CCCV	——	/stra. te. gi. ya/ 'strategy'
CCCVC	/štraf/ 'fine (n.)'	/struk. tura/ 'structure'
CVCCC[1]	/puŋkt/ 'point'; /tekst/ 'text'	/t͡si. lindr/ 'cylinder (hypercorrect)'

The speech of Uzbek scientists and others with a large vocabulary of international terms would likely contain

examples of these syllable-types in all or almost all possible positions.

3.123. Syllable-types in traditional Uzbek words in more rapid formal speech.

Such syllables arise through loss of a medial vowel or loss of one member of a final consonant cluster.

CCV. /sti/ < /su.ti/ 'its milk'; /sra/ < /si.ra/ 'completely, at all'; /ik.kta/ < /ik.ki.ta/ 'two (adj.)'

CCVC. /blan/ < /bi.lan/ 'with'; /brɔw/ < /bi.rɔw/ 'some, somebody, one'

CCVCC. /grunč/ < /gu.runč/ 'rice'

CCCVC. /qšlɔq/ < /qiš.lɔq/ 'village'

CVC. /pas/ < /past/ 'low'; /tor/ < /tort/ 'four'; /goš/ < /gošt/ 'meat'; /ba.lan/ < /ba.land/ 'high, tall'; /xur.san/ < /xur.sant/ 'happy'

3.124. The syllable in styles other than the formal standard.

The phonemes /:/ and /'/ do not occur initially in syllables, nor /ʔ/ finally.

3.1241. In very precise pronunciation the additional syllable-types VV, CVV, and CVVC appear. /a:.lɔ.či/ 'outstanding person'; /ba:.zan/ 'sometimes'; /fe:l/ 'verb'. (The initial syllables in the variants /baʔ.zan/ and /feʔl/, which occur in the same speech-variety, belong to the common types CVC and CVCC, respectively.)

3.1242. In more relaxed discourse, initial and final consonant clusters tend to disappear; here no new syllable-types emerge, however. /is.tan.sa/ < /stan.t͡sa/ 'station'; /is.tɔl ~us.tɔl/ < /stɔl/ 'table'; /pi.lɔn/ < /plan/ 'plan'; /ti.rans.pɔrt/ < /trans.pɔrt/ 'transport'; /is.trel.ka/ < /strel.ka/ 'hand (of clock)'; /fik.ri ~fi.kir/ < /fikr/ 'mind, thought, idea'; /i.sim/ < /ism/ 'name'; /i.lim/ < /ilm/ 'knowledge, science'; /hukum/ < /hukm/ 'judgment'; /ɔk.tya.bir/ < /ɔk.tyabr/ 'October'

3.2. Morphophonology.

We have already observed the general pattern whereby stops, fricatives, and affricates of different voicing quality do not combine in close juncture (3.111). This holds both within and between morphemes. When suffixes (and, in the case of compounds, words) are joined to stems of a particular phonological make-up, phonemic changes occur. These are generally predictable, though specific sequences occasionally combine in abnormal fashion. The chief morphophonological processes in Uzbek are assimilation — regressive and progressive — and vowel syncope — i.e. elision of a short vowel in a stem-final syllable when the addition of a suffix places that syllable in medial position.

3.21. Assimilation in standard Uzbek involves two main patterns:

1. A shift in voicing quality for those stops and spirants (excepting usually /x, f/) that have a voiced or voiceless counterpart.
2. A shift in place of articulation for members of the nasal series.

The first may involve an alternation of allomorphophonemes belonging to certain morphophonemes — in morphemes that are conjoined. Each of the morphophonemes /B, D, G, Ǧ, Z, Ž, J̌/ has voiced and voiceless allomorphophonemes. The voiced allomorphophonemes /b, d, g, ǧ, z, ž, ǰ/ appear next to a voiced phoneme — i.e. one that is suffix-initial. The voiceless allos /p, t, k, q ~x, s, š, č/ occur before a juncture phoneme or next to a suffix-initial voiceless consonant. However, the voiced allos, /ǧ/, /ž/, and /z/ especially, may alternate with their voiceless counterparts before a juncture phoneme (2.231.).

3.211. Regressive assimilation in terms of voicing.

A. Final voiceless allomorphophonemes /p, t, k, q ~x, s, č/, belonging to the morphophonemes /B, D, G, Ǧ, Z, J̌/ respectively, are replaced by the voiced allos before a suffix beginning in a voiced phoneme.

/ǰawɔp/ 'answer'	+	/-ni/	>	/ǰawɔbni/ 'the answer (acc.)'
/kitɔp/ 'book'	+	/-lar/	>	/kitɔblar/ 'books'
/umit/ 'hope, fate'	+	/-im/	>	/umidim/ 'my hope, fate'
/tek/ 'touch! hit!	+	/-a/	>	/tegasan/ 'you touch, will touch; hit, will hit'
/pičɔq ~pičɔğ/ 'knife'	+	/-iŋgiz/	>	/pičɔğiŋgiz/ 'your (pol. sg., pl.) knife'
/yɔs ~yɔz/ 'summer'	+	/-gi/	>	/yɔzgi/ 'summer (adj.)'
/qars/ 'debt'	+	/-dɔr/	>	/qarzdɔr/ 'debtor'
/lanč/ 'weak'	+	/-lik/	>	/lanǰlik/ 'weakness'
/ilɔč ~ilǰ/ 'possibility'	+	/-dan/	>	(/ilɔǰdan/* >) /ilɔždan/ 'from the possibility' (see 3.111.)

B. The voiceless allomorphophonemes /p, t, k, q ~x, s, š, č/, of the morphophonemes /B, D, G, Ğ, Z, Ž, J̌/, appear in close juncture with a suffix with a voiceless initial consonant.

/kitɔb-i/ 'his book'	+	/-xɔn/	>	/kitɔpxɔn/ 'reading room, bookstore'
/did-i/ 'his taste (sense of selection)'	+	/-siz/	>	/ditsiz/ 'lacking in taste'
/bɔğ/ 'garden'	+	/-ča/	>	/bɔqča ~bɔxča/ 'little garden'
/deŋgiz/ 'sea'	+	/-či/	>	/deŋgisči/ 'sailor'
/yuz/ 'hundred'	+	/-tača/	>	/yustača/ 'about a hundred'
/bagaž/ 'baggage'	+	/-siz/	>	/bagašsis/ 'without baggage'

/tɔǰ-i/ 'his throne' + /-siz/ > /tɔčsiz/ 'lacking a throne'

C. In a few morphemes, final /k, q ~x/ (not members of the morphophonemes /G, Ǧ/) may, before a suffix beginning in a vowel, be replaced by their voiced counterparts.

/ešik/ 'door' + /-im/ > /ešigim/ 'my door'

/ellik/ 'fifty' + /-inči/ > /elliginči/ 'fiftieth'

/ortɔq ~ortɔx/ 'friend' + /-iŋ/ > /ortɔǧiŋ/ 'your friend'

But: /ešikni/ 'the door (acc.)'; /ortɔqlar/ 'friends'

3.212. Regressive assimilation in terms of point and/or manner of articulation.

A. In quite rapid speech, but only in some sequences, the stem-final consonant (if a non-nasal) may become identical with the initial consonant of the suffix — this holds only where the two consonants involved share roughly the same point of articulation (i.e. both are labial, dentoalveolar, etc.). But even under these conditions the alternation does not invariably occur.

/ber/ 'give!' + /-di/ > /beddi/ '(he) gave'

/ič/ 'drink!' + /-sa/ > /issa/ 'if (he) drinks'

/siz/ 'you (pol. sg., pl.)' + /-ni/ > /sizzi/ 'you (acc.)'

The following show a concomitant change in voicing.

/xop/ 'Good! All right!' + /-mi/ > /xommi/ 'Is it all right?'

/yɔz/ 'write!' + /-sam/ > /yɔssam/ 'if I write'

/bir/ 'one, a' + /-ta/ > /bitta/ 'one (item)'

B. A stem-final nasal often becomes assimilated to the point of articulation of the suffix-initial consonant — e.g. dentoalveolar > labial. (Occasionally /n/ > /ŋ/ before /č/, although /č/ is not a velar consonant.)

/on/ 'ten'	+	/bir/	>	/ombir/ 'eleven'
/qɔrin/ 'abdomen'	+	/bɔğ/	>	/qɔrimbɔğ/ 'saddle girth'
/bugun/ 'today'	+	/-gi/	>	/buguŋgi/ 'of today'
/xɔtin/ 'wife'	+	/qiz/	>	/xɔtiŋqizlar/ 'women (lit. wives and daughters)'
/qɔrɔn/ 'darkness'	+	/-ği/	>	/qɔrɔŋği/ 'dark'
/korgan/ 'seeing, having seen'	+	/-ča/	>	/korgaŋča/ 'at seeing'
/sozlagan/ 'speaking, having spoken'	+	/-miz/	>	/sozlagammiz/ 'we have spoken'
/sen ~ san/ 'you (sg.)'	+	/-mi/	>	/bilasammi/ 'do you (will you) know?'

C. The stop /q/ often becomes assimilated to the point and manner of articulation of the suffix-initial consonant /č/.

/kelmɔq/ 'coming'	+	/-či/	>	/kelmɔxčiman/ 'I am (intending to) come'

Cf. /kelmɔqtaman/ 'I am coming'

3.213. Progressive assimilation in terms of voicing.

A. After a stem with a final voiceless consonant, initial /d, g/, allomorphophonemes of /D, G/ respectively, are replaced by the voiceless allomorphophonemes /t, k/.

/gap/ 'word, speech'	+	/-ga/	>	/gapka/ 'to the word'
/xat/ 'letter (correspondence)'	+	/-da/	>	/xatta/ 'in the letter'
/sɔt/ 'sell!'	+	/-dim/	>	/sɔttim/ 'I sold'
/ayt/ 'say!'	+	/-gan/	>	/aytkan/ '(he) has said'

/kuprik/ 'bridge'	+	/-dan/	>	/kupriktan/ 'from the bridge'
/uzɔq/ 'long, far'	+	/-dir/	>	/uzɔqtir/ 'it is long, far'
/dars/ 'lesson, lecture'	+	/-ga/	>	/darska/ 'to the lesson'
/xawɸ/ 'danger'	+	/-ga/	>	/xawɸka/ 'into danger'
/harf/ 'letter (of alphabet)'	+	/-ga/	>	/harfka/ 'to the letter'
/iš/ 'work'	+	/-dan keyin/	>	/ištan keyin/ 'after work'
/tuš/ 'fall!'	+	/-dim/	>	/tuštim/ 'I fell'
/šɔh/ 'king'	+	/-ga/	>	/šɔhka/ 'to the king'

B. Occasionally the stem-final voiceless allo of morphophonemes /B, G/ will induce loss of voicing in a suffix — i. e. in suffixes with initial morphophonemes /D, G/.

/maktap/ 'school'	+	/-da/	>	/maktapta/ (beside /maktabda/) 'in school'
/ertalap/ 'dawn'	+	/-gača/	>	/ertalapkača/ 'until dawn'
/yɔzip/ 'writing'	+	/-edi/	>	/yɔzipti/ '(he) was (just now) writing'
/bark/ 'leaf (of tree)'	+	/-ga/	>	/barkka/ 'to the leaf'
/tuk/ 'tie! start!'	+	/-gan/	>	/tukkan/ 'tying, having tied; starting, having started'

3.214. Progressive assimilation in terms of point and manner of articulation (and of voicing). In some instances the suffix-initial consonant may become identical with the stem-final consonant.

/qišlɔq/ 'village'	+	/-ga/	>	/qišlɔqqa/ 'to the village'
/xalq/ 'people'	+	/-ga/	>	/xalqqa/ 'to (the) people'
/čiq/ 'go out! come out!'	+	/-gan/	>	/čiqqan/ '(he) went out, came out'
/ariq/ 'irrigation canal'	+	/-ga/	>	/ariqqa/ 'to the irrigation canal'
/kim/ 'who?'	+	/-ni/	>	/kimmi/ 'whom (acc.)?'

3.215. When a stem with final morphophoneme /Ğ/ is conjoined to a suffix with initial morphophoneme /G/, voiceless allomorphophoneme /q/, belonging to both /Ğ/ and /G/, will appear.

/ǰağ/ 'jaw'	+	/-ga/	>	/ǰaqqa/ 'to the jaw'
/tɔğ/ 'mountain'	+	/-ga/	>	/tɔqqa/ 'to the mountain'
/tuğ-mɔq/ 'giving birth to'	+	/-gan/	>	/tuqqan/ 'relative (n.); one who has given birth'

3.22. Insertion of phoneme.

3.221. Epenthetic vowel.

Before a suffix with initial consonant, /i/ or /u/ is inserted after or between the last two components of a stem-final consonant cluster consisting of: 1. any consonant but /w, y/, plus a nasal or /l, r/, or 2. a nasal followed by a non-homorganic consonant.

/t͡silindr/ 'cylinder'	+	/-da/	>	/t͡silindirda/ 'in the cylinder'
/ϕikr/ 'thought, idea'	+	/-dan/	>	/ϕikridan/ 'from the thought, idea'
/sintyabr/ 'September'	+	/-da/	>	/sintyabirda/ 'in September'
/ilm/ 'science'	+	/-niŋ/	>	/ilimniŋ/ 'of science'

/sinf/ 'class, grade, kind'	+	/-da/	>	/sinifta/ 'in (the) class'
/hukm/ 'command, order'	+	/-ni/	>	/hukumni/ 'the command, order (acc.)'

3.222. Epenthetic consonant.

/w/ may be inserted after a stem-final vowel and before a suffix beginning in /ɔ/.

/bera/ 'to give, giving'	+	/ɔlaman/	>	/berawɔlaman/ 'I am able to give'

/g/ is often inserted between final /-ŋ/ and a suffix beginning with a vowel.

/raŋ/ 'color'	+	/-i/	>	/raŋgi/ 'its color'
/beriŋ/ 'give (pol. sg.)!'	+	/iz/	>	/beriŋgiz/ 'give (pl.)!'
/korsaŋ/ 'if you (pol. sg.) see'	+	/-iz/	>	/korsaŋgiz/ 'if you (pol. sg., pl.) see'
/miŋ/ 'thousand'	+	/-inči/	>	/miŋginči/ 'the thousandth'

3.23. Loss of phoneme.

3.231. Syncope.

A. Initial /e/ in forms of the auxiliary verb /e-/ 'to be' often is elided after a stem-final consonant.

/yɔzar-man/ 'I write, will write (poss.)'	+	/edim/	>	/yɔzardim/ 'I used to write, would write'
/sɔtkan/ '(he) has sold'	+	/edilar/	>	/sɔtkandilar/ 'they had sold'
/bilmas/ '(he) (probably) doesn't know'	+	/emiš/	>	/bilmasmiš/ '(he) (apparently) doesn't know'

B. /i, u, a/, occurring in a final, strongly stressed syllable, and standing after one or two consonants and

before either a sonant or a fricative, is elided when a suffix beginning in a vowel is attached.

/burun/ 'nose'	+	/-i/	>	/burni/ 'his (her) nose'
/hɔwur/ 'steam, vapor'	+	/-i/	>	/hɔwri/ 'its steam, vapor'
/oğil/ 'son'	+	/-imiz/	>	/oğlimiz/ 'our son'
/ɔğiz/ 'mouth'	+	/-im/	>	/ɔğzim/ 'my mouth'
/šahar/ 'city'	+	/-iŋ/	>	/šahriŋ/ 'your city'
/orin ~orun/ 'place'	+	/-at/	>	/ornatmɔq/ 'placing'
/uluğ/ 'great'	+	/-ay/	>	/ulğaymɔq/ becoming big; growing up'
/qayin/ 'in-law'	+	/ɔna/	>	/qaynana/ 'mother-in-law'
/keltir/ 'bring!'	+	/-aman/	>	/keltraman/ 'I bring, will bring'

Exceptions:

/kelin/ 'daughter-in-law, wife'	+	/-i/	>	/kelini/ 'his (her) daughter-in-law'
/xɔtin/ 'wife, woman'	+	/-i/	>	/xɔtini/ (also /xɔtnisi/) 'his wife'

3.232. Loss of consonant.

A. In stems where a medial vowel following the cluster /ŋg/ is elided before a suffix beginning in a vowel (3.231.B.), the /g/ often is dropped to avoid a possible three consonant cluster.

/siŋgil/ 'younger sister'	+	/-im/	>	(/siŋglim/*>) /siŋlim/ 'my younger sister'
/koŋgil/ 'soul'	+	/-i/	>	(/koŋgli/*>) /koŋli/ 'his (her) soul'

B. Stem-final /t/ or /d/, preceded by a stop or fricative, may be elided, especially in rapid discourse, before a suffix with an initial consonant.

/puŋkt/ 'point'	+	/-da/	>	/puŋkta/ 'at the point'
/prɔyekt/ 'project'	+	/-ni/	>	/prɔyekni/ 'the project (acc.)'
/gošt ~ goš/ 'meat'	+	/-ni/	>	/gošni/ 'the meat'
/waqt/ 'time'	+	/-ga/	>	/waqqa/ 'at the time'
/daraxt/ 'tree'	+	/-dan/	>	/daraxtan/ 'from the tree'
/dost/ 'friend'	+	/-ča/	>	/dosča/ 'little friend'

C. Stem-final /t, d/, preceded by a nasal or /r, y/, is often lost before a suffix-initial /d/ — sometimes after changing the latter to /t/.

/samarqant ~ samarqand/ 'Samarkand'	+	/-da/	>	/samarqanda/ 'in Samarkand'
/baland ~ balan/ 'tall, high'	+	/-da/	>	/balanda/ 'in a high place'
/prɔt͡sent ~ prasan/ 'percent'	+	/-da/	>	/prɔt͡senta ~ prasanda/ 'in percent'
/mart/ 'March'	+	/-da/	>	/marta/ 'in March'
/hayt/ 'festival'	+	/-dan/	>	/haytan/ 'from the festival'

D. Before suffix-initial /l/, final /t, d/ may be restored in sequences where it is dropped before a juncture phoneme (3.123.).

/balan ~ baland/ 'high, tall'	+	/-lik/	>	/balandlik/ 'height'
/xursan ~ xursant/ 'happy'	+	/-lik/	>	/xursantlik ~ xursandlik/ 'happiness'

E. Before /g/, stem-final /t, d/ is lost and the preceding dentoalveolar nasal replaced by the velar nasal.

/čimkent ~ čimkan/ + /-ga/ > /čimkeŋga/ 'to Chimkent'
'Chimkent'

/taškent/ 'Tashkent' + /-ga/ > /taškeŋga/ 'to Tashkent'

3.24. Vowel harmony.

A slight degree of labial attraction persists on the phonemic level — though it occurs in a few morphemes only, and even here is far from regular. E.g. /bul-ur/ '(it) is (hab.), will be (poss.)': /bol-sa/ 'if (it) is'; /kor-ur/ '(he) sees, will see (poss.)': /kel-ar/ '(he) comes, will come (poss.)'

But: /bul-sa edi/ 'if (it) was': /ber-ur/ '(he) gives, will give (poss.)'

Notes

1. The examples for type CVCCC have been taken from: Faxri Kamalov (ed.), Sovremennyi Uzbekskiĭ Azyk (Tashkent: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoĭ SSR, 1957), 104, 202, (in Uzbek).

4. FORM AND FUNCTIONAL CLASSES

4.1. Roots.

These are morphemes that can serve as bases: as the nuclei of further morphological constructions, a series of morphemes in close transition. Of these, one type, verbs, consists of bound forms: the verb base must be followed by one or more suffixes. The categories of word-roots are the following:

1. Nouns: /soz/ 'word'; /ɔpa/ 'older sister'
2. Pronouns: /biz/ 'we'; /bu/ 'this, these'
3. Adjectives: /bir/ 'one, a'; /har/ 'each, every'
4. Adverbs: /yana/ 'still, again'; /ǰuda/ 'very'
5. Verbs: /kel-/ 'to come'; /yɔz-/ 'to write'
6. Conjunctions: /yɔ/ 'or'; /wa/ 'and'
7. Interjections: /wɔy/ 'Oh, woe!'; /uɸ/ 'Oh!'

4.2. Postpositions and particles.

Two special classes of bound forms, postpositions and particles, do not serve as bases for further morphological constructions. And they rarely create utterances with essentially new meanings, as do inflectional or derivational affixes. Most postpositions are adverbs or conjunctions or inflected nouns that fulfill unique functions and occupy a special syntactic position. Particles are affix-like forms that differ in a number of respects from derivational and inflectional affixes. Some are merely positional variants of the personal pronouns. Others do not change the function of the word to which they are attached or its essential meaning but merely add, to the broader phrase or larger sequence, "meaning" of an emotional sort — doubt, emphasis, qualification, interrogation, etc. Even the interrogative morphemes, here considered to be particles, may be lacking in an interrogative sentence: interrogative

meaning may be indicated by special words or intonation patterns. Where present, an interrogative particle, like most other particles, forms an immediate constituent with the entire independent clause to which it is appended.

4.3. Additional morpheme-types.

These include derivational suffixes (and a few prefixes) and inflectional suffixes.

4.31. Derivational affixes.

Added to bases or stems, these form new morphological constructions belonging to the same or a different class than the underlying sequence. The resulting construction is substitutable for the original one: i.e. the addition of a derivational affix does not necessitate inflectional changes in other parts of the utterance. This is true even of the plural derivational suffix. Some derivational suffixes are enclitics. Derivational prefixes are few in number. The more important ones are /ba-/ 'with' and /be-/ 'without', and three that carry heavier stress than the following stem: /nɔ́-/ 'negative', /álla-/ 'indefinite', and /sér-/ 'much (adjective formant)'.

4.32. Inflectional suffixes.

Inflectional suffixes are attached to simple or derived bases. The addition of an inflectional suffix often induces inflectional changes in other parts of the utterance, a phenomenon known as "concord" or "agreement."

4.4. Word-classes in Uzbek.

We group words in Uzbek into various classes on the basis of their form, function, and distribution in utterances. Each of the root-types but verbs, along with the special form classes, postpositions and particles, is treated below. The remaining morpheme-types, derivational and inflectional affixes, are discussed in Chapter 5, "Derivation" and Chapter 6, "Inflection." Both kinds of elements form new constructions belonging to any class of words but particles. The word-classes are reviewed here in the order in which they are discussed in the rest of the grammar.

4.41. Nouns.

These are words that can occur with any of the possessive and case suffixes listed under noun inflection (6.2.), as well as with the plural derivational morpheme. They may be followed by postpositions or by enclitics. Some special categories of nouns are the following:

4.411. Interrogative nouns.

These take only certain of the possessive and case suffixes and may combine with them in an irregular manner. /kim/ 'who?'; /kimlar/ 'who (pl.)?'; /kimni/ 'whom (acc.)?'; /nima/ 'what?'; /qanča/ 'how much? how many?'

4.412. Indefinite or quantitative nouns (including numeral nouns — see 4.445.).

These take only some of the possessive and case suffixes or may form them irregularly. /hamma/ 'all'; /hammalarini/ 'all of them (acc.)'; /barča/ 'all, the whole'; /barčaga/ 'to all, to the whole'; /heč/ 'none, not one; any'; /ɔz/ 'some'; /kop/ 'much, many'; /ikkisini kordik/ 'we saw two of them'; /bɔlalarniŋ biri keldi/ 'one of the children came'

Some are derived from interrogative nouns by compounding with an adjective or by the addition of a derivational affix. /harkim/ 'each one, everybody': /har/ 'each, every'; /kimsa/ 'somebody, someone'; /allakim/ 'someone, whoever'; /allanima/ 'something, whatever'

4.413. /bɔr/ and /yoq/.

/bɔr/ 'existence' and /yoq/ 'non-existence' take any of the possessive and case suffixes but do not acquire the plural suffix. /yoğimda/ 'in my absence'; /bɔrida/ 'during his lifetime (lit. during-his-existence)'

4.414. Certain adjectives may function as nouns in special situations. For example, the adjective /kok/ 'blue, green' can serve as a noun: /kok/ 'the sky'. Or /kattadan kičik/ 'from large to small'; /uydagi/ 'which is in the house', also 'the thing which is in the house'

4.415. Verbal nouns.

These are derived from verbs (6.31.) and may take any of the possessive and case suffixes but not the plural derivational suffix (except where this forms part of the 3rd person plural possessive suffix — e.g. /yeganlarinda/ 'while they ate': /-lari/ 'their').

4.42. Pronouns.

Pronouns may acquire the same case suffixes as nouns but rarely the possessive suffixes. They can carry the plural derivational suffix.

4.421. Personal pronouns.

These fill the same syntactic slots as nouns. /biz/ 'we'; /seŋga/ 'to you'; /ulardan/ 'from them'

4.422. Demonstrative pronouns.

These differ from personal pronouns in that their stem form is in some cases different from their root form. /šu ~šul/ 'that, those (near)': /šuŋga/ 'to that, those (near)': /-ga/ 'to'

4.43. Postpositions.

Postpositions, as such, do not occur in isolation. They directly follow and qualify nouns (including verbal nouns) and pronouns and are in immediate constituency with them. Some are nouns with possessive and case suffixes; others are also adverbs or conjunctions. Still others, like /-qadar/ 'until, as far as, as much as', /-učun/ 'for, because of', or /-kabi/ 'like', are strictly postpositions.

4.431. Nouns as postpositions.

/-ustinda/ 'on, upon': /stɔl-ustinda/ 'on the table': /ust/ 'top' (noun); /-ɔrqasida/ 'behind, in back of': /dukɔn-ɔrqasida/ 'behind the store': /ɔrqa/ 'back' (noun)

4.432. Adverbs or gerunds as postpositions.

/-soŋra/ 'after'; /-ilgari/ 'before'; /-burun/ 'until, before'; /-keyin/ 'after'; /-awwal/ 'before'; /-kora/ 'with regard to, compared to'

4.433. Conjunction as postposition.

/-b(i)lan/ 'with'

4.434. Some postpositions must follow a noun or pronoun in a particular case.

1. Ablative: /bundan-keyin/ 'after this'; /undan-beri/ 'since that time'; /qančadan-beri/ 'for how long?' (i.e. 'since how-much?'); /darstan-ilgari/ 'before the lesson'; /yuzdan-burun/ 'until summer'

2. Genitive: /biznij-yaqininda/ 'beside us'; /bɔzɔrnij-yɔninda/ 'near the bazaar'

3. Dative: /sejga-kora/ 'with regard to you, compared to you'; /men korgajga-qadar/ 'until (before) I saw (it)'

4.44. Adjectives.

Adjectives are non-inflected words that modify nouns (but not verbal nouns) or appear as heads of equational clauses. They do not carry the plural suffix.

/yajgi kitɔp/ 'a (the) new book': /yajgi kitɔblar/ '(the) new books'

4.441. A noun in attributive position before another noun functions as an adjective in a noun phrase. The head noun often carries a possessive suffix, especially where the attribute indicates a quality or purpose of the head, or where the attribute is a geographical name. Frequently the head lacks a possessive suffix if the attribute, functioning as an adjective, indicates the possessor — or sometimes substance or purpose.

/taškent šahri/ 'the city of Tashkent'; /kitɔp tili/ 'bookish language'; /universitet yurti/ 'university campus'; /uy iši/ 'housework'; /quy gošti/ 'mutton', cf. /quynij gošti/ 'meat of a (particular) sheep' (attribute noun does not function as an adjective).

4.442. Nouns functioning as adjectives in noun phrases are to be distinguished from nouns that form compounds with other nouns: /oǧíl-bɔla/ 'boy (lit. son-child)'

4.443. Interrogative adjectives.

Some of these are identical in form with interrogative nouns, except that they do not take inflectional suffixes. /neča yil/ 'how many years?'; /qaysi kuni/ 'on which day?'; /qay waqtta/ 'at what time?'; /qanday/ 'what kind of?'

4.444. Indefinite or quantitative adjectives.

Some are identical in form with the corresponding nouns. /har xil/ 'each kind, every kind': /har/ 'each, every'; /heč waqt/ 'never (lit. at no time)': /heč/ 'no; any'; /birɔz qalam/ 'some pencils'; /harqaysi/ 'each, every'; /kop/ 'much, many'

4.445. Numeral adjectives.

The nouns these modify do not take the plural derivational suffix. Numeral adjectives are like numeral nouns in that both may carry the suffixes /-ta/, which functions as a unit reference morpheme, and /-inči ~ -nči/ 'ordinal formant'. The quantitative adjective /neča/ functions like a numeral when it acquires /-ta/ and /-nči/: /nečanči uy/ 'which house?' (i.e. which of a series?)

Numerals show some special patterns of compounding as described below.

Numbers from one to ten are /bir/ 'one'; /ikki/ 'two'; /uč/ 'three'; /tort/ 'four'; /beš/ 'five'; /ɔlti/ 'six'; /yetti/ 'seven'; /sakkiz/ 'eight'; /toqqiz/ 'nine'; /on/ 'ten'

Numbers from 10 to 19 are formed by adding to /on/ 'ten' the numbers below 10: /on bir ~ ombir/ 'eleven'; /on sakkiz/ 'eighteen'

Numbers above 19 are formed by placing the numerals under nine after the forms denoting 20, 30, and so on. /yigirma/ 'twenty'; /yigirma bir/ 'twenty-one'; /ottiz/ 'thirty'; /ottiz tort/ 'thirty-four'; /qirq/ 'forty'; /ellik/ 'fifty'; /ɔltmiš/ 'sixty'; /yetmiš/ 'seventy'; /saksɔn/ 'eighty'; /toqsɔn/ 'ninety'

The numbers 100, 200, 300, etc., and similar series in the thousands or millions, are formed by placing the numbers from 1 to 10 before /yuz/ 'a hundred', /miŋ/ 'a

thousand', and /milliɔn/ 'a million'. /yuz ~bir yuz/ 'one hundred'; /yuz bir ~bir yuz bir/ 'a hundred and one'; /beš yuz/ 'five hundred'; /miŋ bir ~bir miŋ bir/ 'one thousand and one'; /bir miŋ yetti yuz qirq uč/ 'one thousand seven hundred and forty-three'; /uč milliɔn tort yuz/ 'three million four hundred'

Note: The numeral adjective /bir/, before a noun in the indefinite accusative (sometimes other cases or the nominative), denotes 'a'. But if the noun is in the definite accusative (or occasionally other cases), /bir/ usually denotes 'one'. /men bir ɔt kordim/ 'I saw a horse': /men bir ɔtni kordim/ 'I saw one horse': /men ɔtni kordim/ 'I saw the horse' (see 6.212.); /bir bɔlaga/ 'to a (one) child'; /bir oquwči yurayɔtir/ 'a (one) student is walking': /oquwči yurayɔtir/ 'a (the) student is walking'; /bir xɔtiniŋ bir šapkasi/ 'a woman's hat' (i.e. a hat of a woman).

4.446. Demonstrative adjectives.

These resemble demonstrative pronouns except that they have no stem form — i.e. they do not take plural or other suffixes. /u ešik/ 'that door', /u ešiklar/ 'those doors': /u| ešik/ 'that is a door', /ular| ešik(lar)/ 'those are doors'. /bu/ 'this, these' can function as an emphatic definite article when the noun it modifies is in the definite accusative. /bu šapkani keltriŋ/ 'bring the hat (pol.)!'

4.447. /bɔr/, /yoq/, and /kerak/.

/bɔr/ and /yoq/ appear more often as adjectives than as nouns (4.413.). /suw bɔr jɔy/ 'a place with water (lit. water-existing place)'. Especially are they prominent as heads of equational clauses. /keragi yoq/ 'it is not necessary (lit. its-necessity is-non-existent)'; /waqtiŋ yoq/ 'you have no time (lit. your-time is-non-existent)'; /qizim bɔr/ 'I have a daughter (lit. my-daughter is-existent)'; /gurunč bɔr edi/ 'there was rice'

/kerak/ 'necessary' plays a special role in equational clauses: it is a complement to a verbal noun in /-sa-/ 'conditional formant' which functions as a subject. /kerak/ here denotes 'existing', occasionally 'necessary'. /aytsam kerak/

'I may tell (lit. my-contingent-telling is-existent)', sometimes 'I must tell (lit. my-contingent-telling is-necessary)'

/bɔr/, /yoq/, and /kerak/, unlike some nouns functioning as adjectives, do not induce the nouns they modify to take possessive suffixes.

4.448. Verbal adjectives (participles).

Like ordinary adjectives these carry no inflectional or plural suffixes. But unlike other adjectives, they do not occur as heads of equational clauses and rarely do they cause a modified noun to take a possessive suffix. /sotilaǰak mewalar/ 'the fruits which will be sold'

4.45. Adverbs.

Adverbs are mixed class including: 1. words that either occur clause-initially or directly precede a modified verb or verbal noun; 2. words that modify other adverbs or adjectives; 3. words that are identical in form with adjectives (sometimes with conjunctions), and 4. words that are nouns, verbal nouns, or pronouns occurring in combination with certain possessive and case suffixes, postpositions, derivational affixes, or particles. This last sub-type tends to occur at or near the beginning of clauses.

1. /ɸaqat/ 'only'; /ham/ 'also'; /darrɔw/ 'immediately'; /kop/ 'much'; /endi/ 'now'

2. /ǰuda/ 'very': /ǰuda yaxši/ 'very good', /ǰuda tez kettim/ 'I left very quickly'; /kop/ 'very': /kop guzal/ 'very beautiful'; /eŋ/ 'the most': /eŋ ɔq/ 'the whitest': /eŋ ɔq qɔğɔz/ 'the whitest paper'; /yana/ 'still': /yana bir daɸtar/ 'one more notebook'

3. /yaxši/ 'well': /sen yaxši išlaysan/ 'you work well'; /toğri/ 'truly, correctly': /toğri ayt/ 'speak truthfully'; /yɔmɔn/ 'badly': /u išni yɔmɔn qilma/ 'don't do that work badly!'; /balki/ 'perhaps'

4. /erta-bilan/ 'in the morning'; /buyerda/ 'here'; /kelganča/ 'when (he) arrived'; /kimlarda/ 'where? (lit. with-what-persons?)'; /nimalarda/ 'where? (lit. on, in-what-things?)'; /teginda/ 'from below'; /nima-učun/ 'why?'; /oziča/ 'independently'

A clause may contain more than one of these adverb-types. /bɔğda gullar ham bɔr/ 'there are also flowers in the garden'

Like adjectives, adverbs can also be described under the following categories:

4.451. Interrogative adverbs.

/qayerga/ '(to) where?'; /qayda/ 'where?'; /qayerda/ 'where?'; /qanday/ 'how?'; /qačɔn/ 'when?'; /nimaga/ 'why?'

4.452. Indefinite adverbs.

/heč/ 'never, ever'; /u heč oqiydi/ 'he never reads, studies'

4.453. Demonstrative adverbs.

/mana/ 'right here, there (near)': /mana qɔra dɔska/ 'here is a blackboard'; /ana/ 'over there (distant)': /ana katta qalamlar/ 'over there are some good pencils'; /uyerdan/ 'from there'

4.454. Verbal adverbs (gerunds).

These are derived from verbs (6.31.). /bɔra qɔl/ 'keep going!'; /kora ɔlmadim/ 'I was unable to see'; /pul sorap| ketti/ 'having asked for money, (he) went away'

4.46. Verbs.

These are described in detail in the chapters on derivation and inflection.

4.47. Conjunctions.

These are words that serve as connectives.

4.471. Coordinating conjunctions.

1. Those that connect two words or non-verbal phrases: /bilan/ 'and'; /ya?ni ~yani/ 'that is'; /ham/ 'and, also'. /ɔnam bilan ɔtam bɔrdilar/ 'my mother and father went'. /ham/ may occur after a single item, before the last item in a series, or after each item in a series: /romɔlča ham yašil/ 'the kerchief, also, is green'; /bɔğda| sabzi ham

piyɔz ham| qɔwun ham gullaydi/ 'in the garden, carrots, onions, and melons are growing'. With a negative verb or /emas/, /ham...ham/ denotes 'neither nor'

2. Those connecting words, phrases, or two independent (sometimes two dependent) clauses:

a. The following occur singly: /wa/ 'and'; /yɔ/, /yɔki ~yɔkim/ 'or'; /lekin/ 'but'; /esa/ 'as for, the same with, also' (occurs after the second of two connected elements). /men ešitaman| sen esa gapirasan/ 'I listen and you talk': /sen esa/ 'as for you,'

b. The following occur paired, before the items they connect: /yɔ ... yɔ/ 'either ... or'; /na ... na/ 'neither ... nor'; /xɔh ... xɔh/ 'whether or'; /gɔh ... gɔh/, /dam ... dam/ 'now now'. /yɔ sen tuzatasan| yɔ men tuzataman/ 'either you correct (it), or I will'; /na yidi na učti/ '(he) neither ate nor drank'

3. Those connecting two independent clauses: /ammɔ/ 'but, however'; /b(i)rɔq/ 'instead, rather'; /čuŋki/ 'because, since'; /garči/ 'although'; /šuniŋ-učun/ 'because'

4.472. Subordinating conjunctions (connect dependent with independent clauses).

/ki/ (rarely /kim/) 'that, which (sometimes /dep/ 'that') is appended to the first of two clauses, making it dependent; /agar/, /agarda/, 'if' occurs optionally at the beginning of dependent clauses.

4.473. Clitic (weakly stressed) conjunctions.

1. /-da/ 'and then': /keldída ketti/ '(he) came and then went away'

2. /-ma/ 'and': /yúzma yuz/ 'face-to-face'; /butɔ́qma butɔq/ 'from branch to branch'

3. /-u ~-yu/ 'and': /tɔ́rtu ɔlti| on/ 'four and six are ten'

4. /-wa/ 'and': /keldíkwa kordik/ 'we came and saw'

5. /-ham/ 'and, also': /sénham/ 'you, too'

6. /-ki/ (rarely /-kim/)'that, which': /ayttíki/ '(he) said that ...'

4.48. Interjections.

Usually these form minor clauses — i.e. they appear before terminal junctures. Sometimes, however, they form sentence-initial phrases. /uɸ↓/ 'Oh!': /uɸ| qanday sɔwuq↓/ 'Oh, how cold it is!'; /eh↓/ 'Hey! Hi!': /eh| bɔlalar↓/ 'Hi, kids!'; /aɸsus↓/ 'Ugh!'; /ax↓/ 'Oh! (pain or repugnance)'; /oho↓/ (astonishment); /o↓/ 'Oh!'; /ha/ 'Yes! Oh!'; /qani↓/ 'Well! Look!'; /balli↓/ 'Yes! Correct!'; /mana/ 'There! Here!'; /ana/ 'There!'

4.49. Particles.

Particles, we noted, are forms that do not occur in isolation or serve as bases for further morphological constructions. Except for the predicatives, they impart only shades of meaning of an emotional sort. Most of them are enclitics. The main sub-classes of particles are:

4.491. Prefixed intensifying particle (strongly stressed).

This is /$C^1\acute{V}^1$ + -p- ~ -ppa- ~ -b- ~ -m- ~ -s-/, formed by partial reduplication of the succeeding word. /qípqizil/ 'very red': /qizil/ 'red'; /qɔ́pqɔra/ 'very black, pitch black': /qɔra/ 'black'; /tóppatoğri/ 'absolutely true': /toğri/ 'true, correct'; /bábbarawar/ 'very much alike': /barawar/ 'similar, equal'

4.492. Diminutive and/or affectionate particles (normal stress on final syllable).

1. /-giná ~ -kiná ~ -qiná/: /ortɔqqiná/ 'little friend'
2. /-čá/: /oğlimčá/ 'my (dear) little son'; /yigitčá/ 'young fellow (vocative)!'

4.493. Enclitic particles (see 2.41211. A. 2b.).

1. /-gina ~ -kina ~ -qina/ 'qualifying particle': /sekíŋgina/ 'very slowly'; /kíčkina/ 'quite small'; /atčíqqina/ 'rather sour, sourish'; /halígina/ 'only just now'; /kitɔblardágina/ 'only in books'
2. Intensifying particles.
   a. /-a ~ -ya/: /yubɔrdíya/ 'There! You see? (He) sent (it)!'

b. /-ɔq ~ -yɔq/: /uyga kelíbɔq/ 'just as (he) came home'; /ertasigáyɔq/ 'just the other day'

c. /-ku/: /qɔldíku/ '(he) did stay!'; /sen uxladíŋku/ 'you slept, then?'

d. /-da/: /bɔrdída/ '(and) so (he) went?!'

e. /-u ~-yu/: /keldíyu/ 'See! (He) came!'

f. /-ham/: /bolsáham/ 'even if it is,'; /ǰudáham katta/ 'very big!'

The enclitic particles discussed below are attached to words in the order in which they are presented here. These and the diminutive particles, as well as some intensifying particles like /-ku/, /-a ~-ya/, or /-u ~-yu/, are termed "sentence" enclitics — i.e. their domain is larger than the word to which they are attached and is usually the sentence.

3. Predicatives — particles attached to the heads of predicates.

a. The predicative (copula) particle:

This morpheme, /-dir ~-dur ~-tir ~-tur/, apparently from the verb form /turur/ 'it stands, continues', occurs optionally after the head of the predicate in equational clauses. /u kímdir/ 'who is (he)?'; /bugun ǰuda issíxtir/ 'it is very hot today'. Occasionally it is found after a verbal noun as part of a finite verb construction, but here it conveys a special meaning (6.3821.).

b. Personal predicative particles (positional variants of the personal pronouns):

/-man/, /-san/, /-ϕ/, /-miz/, /-siz/ are optionally attached to the head of the predicate in equational clauses with a subject; they are obligatory in those without a subject and in finite verb constructions. /bizlar oqituwčilár(miz) ~oqituwčilármiz/ 'we are teachers'; /(bizlar) oqitkánmiz/ 'we taught, have taught'

c. The pluralizing particle /-lar/ (positional variant of the derivational suffix /-lár/ attached to personal pronouns):

This enclitic particle occurs optionally after /-miz/, /-siz/, or /-ϕ/ in equational clauses with a subject; it is obligatory in those without a subject and denoting the 3d person plural. It does not occur after a predicate noun with the

plural derivational suffix. Finally, it is found in finite verb constructions (6.32.). /ular studént-ϕ(-lar) ~ studént-ϕ-lar/ 'they are students', cf. /studentlár/ 'students' (noun phrase occurring as minor independent clause); /ular oqitárlar/ 'they (possibly) will teach'

4. Interrogative particles (rarely found with the copula particle).

These include /-mi/ and /-či/. The latter may also indicate qualification or desire, or a request or abrupt command. /kelsáči/ 'and (but) if (he) comes?'; /qarap bɔqíŋči/ 'why don't you take a look?'; /ičaydími/ 'does (he) drink? will (he) drink?'

5. Dubitative particle.

/-kan ~ -kin/, apparently from the verbal noun /ekan/, sometimes occurs after /-mi/ and indicates a doubtful statement or question or a hesitant request. /soradíŋmikin/ 'did you really ask?'; /berármikan/ 'will (he) possibly give?'; /u uydamikin bilmayman/ 'I don't know whether (he) is at home'

5. DERIVATION

5.1. Derived words are formed by the addition of derivational suffixes (or, in some cases, prefixes) or by compounding: i.e. conjoining two separate words (occasionally three where one is an enclitic conjunction), or a word plus a particle or postposition. Compounds differ from phrases in that they show one or more of the following: a. heavier stress falls on the first element rather than the last — cf. /aká-uka/ 'brothers' (compound word): /aka uká/ 'older brother and younger brother' (phrase); b. segmental phonemes undergo changes that are not predicted by morphophonological rules — /bugun/ 'today' (compound): /bu kun/ 'this day' (phrase); c. the meaning of the compound is different from that of the corresponding phrase — /yaxši kor-/ 'to love' (compound): /yaxši kor-/ 'to see well' (phrase); d. the compound belongs to a word-class different from that of any of its components — /ɔldí-berdi/ 'fleeting acquaintance' (noun): /ɔldi/ '(he) took, received' (verb), /berdi/ '(he) gave' (verb). Cf. /kop berdi/ '(he) gave a lot' (finite verb phrase): /berdi/ '(he) gave' (finite verb); e. the second of two elements is a particle or postposition.

A derived word functions like any other word of its class. It may acquire further derivational suffixes or form compounds with other words (particles especially). The derivational suffixes /-li/, /-lik/, /-lar/ are particularly apt to occur after other suffixes (derivational or inflectional), as are the enclitic derivational suffixes /-ča/, /-dak ~ -dek ~ -day/, or /-dir/ — e.g. /ayt-iš-ma-s-lik/ 'not speaking', /sabza-wɔt-či-lik/ 'gardening'; /kim-lar-dan-dir/ 'from whomever' (root + derivational suffix + inflectional suffix + derivational suffix).

The following are the most common types of derivation in Uzbek.

5.2. Nouns.

5.21. Nouns from nouns.

1. /-dɔr/ 'agentive': /qarzdɔr/ 'debtor': /qarz/ 'debt'; /šahrdɔr/ 'mayor': /šahar/ 'city'

2. /-či/ 'occupation': /oquwči/ 'student': /oquw/ 'reading, studying'; /xizmatči/ 'clerk, servant, employee': /xizmat/ 'service, office'

3. /-lik/ 'state, action; occupation': /yigitlik/ 'youth (time of life)': /yigit/ 'young man'

4. /-čilik/ 'state, action; occupation': /yigitčilik/ 'acting like a youth': /yigit/ 'young man'

5. /-lik/ 'inhabitant of': /samarqandlik/ 'person from Samarkand': /samarqant/ 'Samarkand'

6. /-sa/ 'indefinite': /kimsa/ 'someone, somebody': /kim/ 'who?'

7. /-ɔw/ 'collective-indefinite (before it stem-final /i/ is elided)' (attached to numeral nouns from one to seven): /ikkɔw/ 'both': /ikki/ 'two'; /yettɔw/ 'seven in all, seven together': /yetti/ 'seven'; /birɔw/ 'somebody, some': /bir/ 'one'

8. /-ala/ 'collective (before it stem-final /i/ is elided)' (attached to numeral nouns from two to seven): /ɔltala/ 'six together'; /ɔlti/ 'six'

9. /-dɔn/ 'receptacle': /qalamdɔn/ 'pencil-box': /qalam/ 'pencil'; /siyɔhdɔn/ 'inkwell': /siyɔh/ 'ink'

10. /-zɔr/ 'place': /sabzazɔr/ 'place with many plants': /sabza/ 'vegetables, greens'; /kokatzɔr/ 'meadow': /kokat/ 'grass'

11. /-gar/ 'occupation': /sawdɔgar/ 'merchant': /sawdɔ/ 'trade'; /zargar/ 'goldsmith': /zar/ 'gold'

12. /-paz/ 'occupation': /ɔšpaz/ 'innkeeper': /ɔš/ 'palɔw, food'; /mantipaz/ 'cook who makes meat pies': /manti/ 'meat pie'

13. /-wɔt ~-ɔt/ 'collective': /sabzawɔt/ 'vegetables': /sabza/ 'vegetables, greens'; /haywɔnɔt/ 'fauna': /haywɔn/ 'animal'

14. /-lar/ 'plural': (does not occur as part of predicate where the copula particle /-dir ~ -dur ~ -tir ~ -tur/ or the enclitic particle /-lar/ form part of predicate): /bɔlalar/ 'children': /bɔla/ 'child' (sometimes 'children')

5.22. Nouns from adjectives.

1. /-či/ 'agentive': /alɔči/ 'outstanding person': /alɔ/ 'outstanding, excellent'

2. /-lik/ 'state, action': /qɔralik/ 'blackness': /qɔra/ 'black'; /čirɔylilik/ 'beauty': /čirɔyli/ 'beautiful'; /tɔqatsizlik/ 'impatience': /tɔqatsiz/ 'impatient'

3. /-istɔn/ 'place': /qirğizistɔn/ 'Kirghizistan': /qirğiz/ 'Kirghiz'; /gulistɔn/ 'garden'; /gul/ 'flower'

4. /-ɔt/ 'noun formant (for Arabic loans)': /tabiiyɔt/ 'nature': /tabiiy/ 'natural'; /malumɔt/ 'fame': /malum/ 'well known'

5. /-iyat/ 'noun formant (for Arabic loans)': /qɔbiliyat/ 'capacity': /qɔbil/ 'capable'

6. /-at/ 'collective': /kokat/ 'grass': /kok/ 'blue, green'

7. /-dir/ 'indefinite': /qančadir/ 'some, several': /qanča/ 'how much? how many?'; /qandaydir/ 'some, certain': /qanday/ 'what kind of?'

5.23. Nouns from verbs.

1. /-gi ~ -ki ~ -qi/: /kulgi/ 'laughter': /kul-/ 'to laugh'; /ačitqi/ 'yeast': /ačit-/ 'to leaven'; /turtki/ 'blow, push (n.)': /turt-/ 'to push'

2. /-ma/: /korsatma/ 'direction, aim': /korsat-/ 'to show'; /qošilma/ 'union, combination': /qošil-/ 'to be joined'

3. /-iš ~ -š/: /quriliš/ 'building (act, result)': /quril-/ 'to be built'; /išlaš/ 'working': /išla-/ 'to work'; /kelišiš/ 'agreement': /keliš-/ 'to come together, agree'; /biliš/ 'knowledge': /bil-/ 'to know'

4. /-uw ~ -w/ (before /w/, /i/ > /u/ and /a/ > /ɔ/): /yɔzuw/ 'writing (act or result)': /yɔz-/ 'to write'; /ɔquw/ 'studying, reading': /ɔqi-/ 'to study, read'; /sorɔw/ 'asking': /sora-/ 'to ask'

5. /-uwči ~-wči/ (before /w/, /i/ > /u/ and /a/ > /ɔ/) 'agentive': /tašuwci/ 'porter': /taši-/ 'to carry'; /turuwči/ 'resident': /tur-/ 'to stand, continue, live'; /sɔtuwči/ 'merchant, salesman': /sɔt-/ 'to sell'

6. /-mɔq/: /quymɔq/ 'pouring': /quy/ 'to pour'

7. /-ik ~ -k/: /istak/ 'desire': /ista-/ 'to desire'; /kelišik/ 'grammatical case': /keliš-/ 'to come together, agree'

5.24. Compound nouns.

These are formed by composition of noun + noun, adjective + noun, noun + particle, verbal noun + verbal noun, or finite verb + finite verb:

/ɔš-xɔna/ 'inn': /ɔš/ 'food', /xɔna/ 'building, room'; /qíz-bɔla/ 'child (f.)': /qiz/ 'girl, daughter', /bɔla/ 'child'; /xɔn-taxta/ 'table (traditional type)': /xɔn/ 'room (adj.)', /taxta/ 'board'; /temir-yól/ 'railroad': /temir/ 'iron', /yol/ 'road, way'; /qišlɔqqina/ 'just a village': /qišlɔq/ 'village', /-qina/ 'qualifying particle'; /bɔrdí-keldi/ 'acquaintance (state)': /bɔrdi/ '(he) went', /keldi/ '(he) came'; /bír-ikki/ 'a few, a couple of': /bir/ 'one', /ikki/ 'two'

5.3. Pronouns.

5.31. Pronouns from pronouns.

/-lar/: 'plural': /bizlar/ 'we (a group)': /biz/ 'we'; /bular/ 'these': /bu/ 'this, these'; /šular/ 'those (near)': /šu/ 'that, those (near)'

5.4. Adjectives.

5.41. Adjectives from nouns.

1. /-siz/ 'without, lacking': /tɔqatsiz/ 'impatient': /tɔqat/ 'patience'; /tussiz/ 'without salt': /tuz/ 'salt'

2. /-li/: /ğayratli/ 'industrious': /ğayrat/ 'industry'; /yerli/ 'local': /yer/ 'land, place'; /sewgili/ 'of love': /sewgi/ 'love'

3. /-gi ~-ki ~-qi/: /kečki/ 'evening (adj.)': /keča/ 'night'; /qišqi/ 'winter (adj.)': /qiš/ 'winter'; /buguŋgi/

'today (adj.)': /bugun/ 'today'; /ički/ 'inner': /ič/ 'interior (n.)'

4. /-čil/: /dartčil/ 'sick': /dart/ 'sickness'; /epčil/ 'clever': /ep ~ew/ 'skill, shrewdness'

5. /-iy/ 'adjective formant (for Arabic loans)': /ilmiy/ 'scientific': /ilm/ 'science'; /asɔsiy/ first, primary': /asɔs/ 'beginning, basis'; /tarixiy/ 'historical': /tarix/ 'history'

6. /-ča/ 'equative': /yigitča/ 'like a young man': /yigit/ 'youth'; /xɔtinča/ 'like a woman': /xɔtin/ 'woman'; /qanča/ 'how much? how many?': /qan-/ 'interrogative noun root'

7. /-dak ~-dek ~-day/ 'equative': /ɔltindek/ 'like gold': /ɔltin/ 'gold'; /bɔladay/ 'like a child': /bɔla/ 'child'; /oqitkudek/ 'like a teacher, as if teaching': /oqitku/ 'teaching (future)' (verbal noun)

8. /-simɔn/ 'equative': /gulsimɔn/ 'like a flower': /gul/ 'flower'; /ayiqsimɔn/ 'like a bear': /ayiq/ 'bear'

9. /be-/ 'without': /behad/ 'endless': /had/ 'end'; /behis/ 'unfeeling': /his/ 'feeling'

10. /ba-/ 'with': /badawlat/ 'wealthy': /dawlat/ 'wealth'; /baquwwat/ 'powerful': /quwwat/ 'power'

11. /ser-/ 'much': /serunum/ 'fertile': /unum/ 'harvest'; /sersuw/ 'having much water': /suw/ 'water'

5.42. Adjectives from adjectives.

1. /-rɔq ~ -rɔx/ 'comparative': /yaxširɔq/ 'better': /yaxši/ 'good'; /tezrɔq/ 'quicker': /tez/ 'quick'. Sometimes in utterances lacking two nouns or pronouns that might be compared, an adjective with final /-rɔq ~ -rɔx/ indicates 'rather': /u ton kattarɔq/ 'this (Uzbek) coat is rather large'

2. /-ta/ 'unit reference (attached to numeral and quantitative adjectives or equivalent nouns)': /učta/ three': /uč/ 'three'; /nečta/ 'how many?': /neča/ 'how many?'; /hečta/ 'no; any': /heč/ 'no; any'

3. /-ča/ 'equative (added to unit reference suffix /-ta/)': /saksɔntača/ 'about (i.e. like) eighty': /saksɔnta/ 'eighty'; /yuztača/ 'about a hundred': /yuzta/ 'a hundred'

4. /-inči ~-nči/ 'ordinal (attached to numeral and quantitative adjectives in attributive position)': /ikkinči/ 'second': /ikki/ 'two'; /tortinči/ 'fourth': /tort/ 'four'; /nečanči/ 'which (of a series)?': /neča/ 'how many?'; /on sakkizinči/ 'eighteenth': /on sakkiz/ 'eighteen'

5. /iš ~-š/: /kokiš/ 'bluish, greenish': /kok/ 'blue, green'; /qiz(i)ǧiš/ 'reddish': /qiziq/ 'red'

6. /nɔ-/ 'negation': /nɔtoǧri/ 'untrue': /toǧri/ 'true, correct'

7. /alla-/ 'indefinite': /allaneča/ 'some, a few': /neča/ 'how many?'; /allaqanča/ 'some, a few': /qanča/ 'how much? how many?'

5.43. Adjectives from adverbs.

/-gi ~-ki ~-qi/: /qačɔŋgi/ 'ancient': /qačɔn/ 'when?'; /ertalapki/ 'morning (adj.)': /ertalap/ 'in the morning'; /yemɔqtan-keyiŋgi(waqt)/ '(the time) after dinner': /yemɔqtan-keyin/ 'after dinner' (adverbial phrase); /yanagi/ 'following, next': /yana/ 'still, again'; /idɔrasidagi/ 'which is in his office': /idɔrasida/ 'in his office'

5.44. Adjectives from verbs.

/-ma/: /bɔsma/ 'printed': /bɔs-/ 'to print'; /ɔsma/ 'hanging': /ɔs-/ 'to hang'

5.45. Compound adjectives.

1. By composition of adjective + adjective, adjective + noun, or gerund + verbal noun: /bír-neča/ 'some': /bir/ 'one, a', /neča/ 'how many?'; /hár-xil/ 'all kinds of, various': /har/ 'each, every', /xil/ 'type, sort'; /kelíp-ketar/ 'passing, ephemeral': /kelip/ 'coming, having come', /ketar/ 'going (away)'

2. By reduplication of adjectives: /sowúq-sowuq/ 'ice cold': /sowuq/ 'cold'; /kičík-kičik/ 'tiny, very small': /kičik/ 'small'; /kattá-katta/ 'huge': /katta/ 'big, large'

5.5. Adverbs.

5.51. Adverbs from nouns.

1. /-lap/: /kečalap/ 'at night': /keča/ 'night'; /yillap/ 'yearly': /yil/ 'year'

2. /-in/: /qišin/ 'in winter': /qiš/ 'winter'; /ɔldin/ 'at first, in the future': /ɔld/ 'front (part)'

3. /-an/ 'adverb formant (for Arabic loans)': /asɔsan/ 'basically': /asɔs/ 'beginning, basis'; /haqiqatan/ 'truly, truthfully': /haqiqat/ 'truth'

4. /-ča/ 'equative': /qahramɔnlarča/ 'heroically': /qahramɔnlar/ 'heroes'; /yuzlarča/ 'like hundreds, by hundreds': /yuzlar/ 'hundreds'

5. /-ta/: /bitta/ 'one time, once': /bir/ 'one'; /ikkita/ 'by twos': /ikki/ 'two'

6. /-dak ~-dek ~-day/ 'equative': /birday/ 'like one': /bir/ 'one'

5.52. Adverbs from pronouns.

1. /-ča/ 'equative': /bunča/ 'as much as this, like this': /bu ~buŋ- ~bun-/ 'this'; /sizlarča/ 'like you (pl.), according to you (pl.)': /sizlar/ 'you (pl.)'

2. /-dak ~-dek ~-day/ 'equative': /šunday/ 'like that (near)': /šu ~šuŋ- ~šun-/ 'that (near)'

5.53. Adverbs from adjectives.

/-ča/ 'equative': /uzbekča/ 'in Uzbek (language)': /uzbek/ 'Uzbek (adj.)'; /bɔšqača/ 'otherwise': /bɔšqa/ 'other'

5.54. Adverbs from adjectives or adverbs.

/-lap/: /ertalap/ 'in the morning': /erta/ 'early (adj., adv.)'; /bittalap/ 'separately': /bitta/ 'one (item); one time, once'; /tezlap/ 'quickly': /tez/ 'quick; quickly'; /yaxšilap/ 'well': /yaxši/ 'good; well'

/-dir/ 'indefinite': /qayerdadir/ 'wherever': /qayerda/ 'where?'

/-rɔq/ 'comparative': /keyinrɔq/ 'a little later': /keyin/ 'afterwards'; /berirɔq/ 'nearer': /beri/ 'here, hereto'

5.55. Compound adverbs.

1. By composition of adjective + noun, adjective + adverb, nominal + postposition, adverb + adverb, adverb +

particle, verbal noun + verbal noun, or finite verb + finite verb: /héč-waqt/ 'never': /heč/ 'no', /waqt/ 'time'; /bugún/ 'today': /bu/ 'this', /kun/ 'day'; /hár-qačɔn/ 'always': /har/ 'each, every', /qačɔn/ 'when?'; /bir-ɔz/ 'somewhat': /bir/ 'one, a', /ɔz/ 'some, a little'; /ertá-bilan/ 'in the morning': /erta/ 'tomorrow', /-bilan/ 'with'; /unčá-munča/ 'more or less, so-so': /unča/ 'like that', /munča/ 'like this'; /yɔzín-qišin/ 'all year': /yɔzin/ 'in the summer', /qišin/ 'in the winter'; /endígina/ 'just now': /endi/ 'now', /-gina/ 'qualifying particle'; /yaxšígina/ 'sufficiently, quite well': /yaxši/ 'well', /-gina/ 'qualifying particle'; /bolsá-bolar/ 'perhaps': /bolsa/ 'if it is', /bolar/ 'being, existing'; /koríŋ-kormaŋ/ 'exactly': /koriŋ/ 'see!', /kormaŋ/ 'don't see!'

2. By composition of noun + enclitic conjunction + noun: /yɔ́nma-yɔn/ 'side by side': /yɔn/ 'side', /-ma/ 'conjunction (enclitic)'; /bétma-bet/ 'face-to-face': /bet/ 'face', /-ma/ 'conjunction (enclitic)'

3. By reduplication of adverbs or gerunds: /sekín-sekin/ 'very slowly': /sekin/ 'slowly'; /bɔrá-bɔra/ 'little by little': /bɔra/ 'to go, going (gerund)'; /kelíp-kelip/ 'later': /kelip/ 'coming, having come (gerund)'

5.6. Verbs.

Earlier we noted that verb roots, unlike other root-types, can not stand alone. Similarly, derived verbal bases, unlike the derived bases of other word-classes, can not appear in isolation — the derivational morphemes that form extended verbal bases are prefinal suffixes. Both simple and derived verb bases must carry further suffixes — inflectional ones. See Chapter 6, "Inflection."

5.61. Verbs from nouns.

1. /-la-/: /tuzla-/ 'to salt': /tuz/ 'salt'; /zaharla-/ 'to poison': /zahar/ 'poison'; /bɔšla-/ 'to start (tr.), begin': /bɔš/ 'head'; /oyla-/ 'to think': /oy/ 'thought, idea'; /gulla-/ 'to blossom, flower': /gul/ 'flower'

2. /-lan-/: /ɔwqatlan-/ 'to eat, drink, dine': /ɔwqat/ 'food'

3. /-laš-/: /birlaš-/ 'to unify, unite': /bir/ 'one'

4. /-ir-/: /gapir-/ 'to say, speak': /gap/ 'word, speech'

5. /-a-/: /oyna-/ 'to play, dance': /oyin/ 'game'

6. /-at-/: /ornat-/ 'to place': /orin/ 'place'

7. /-aš-/: /ornaš-/ 'to be ranked, placed': /orin/ 'place'

8. /-ay-/: /kučay-/ 'to become strong, be strengthened': /kuč/ 'strength, power'

5.62. Verbs from pronouns.

/-la/: /senla-/ 'to use the familiar form of address': /sen/ 'you (inf. sg.)'

5.63. Verbs from adjectives or adverbs.

1. /-ar-/: /kokar-/ 'to turn green, grow': /kok/ 'blue, green'

2. /-ay-/: /sarğay-/ 'to become yellow': /sariq/ 'yellow'; /ulğay-/ 'to become big, grow up': /uluğ/ 'great'; /kopay-/ 'to be numerous, flourish': /kop/ 'much, many'; /ɔzay-/ 'to decrease (intr.)': /ɔz/ 'some, a little'

3. /-la-/: /tayyɔrla-/ 'to prepare': /tayyɔr/ 'ready, prepared'; /yaxšila-/ 'to improve (tr.)': /yaxši/ 'good; well'; /sekinla-/ 'to be slow': /sekin/ 'slow; slowly'

4. /-lan-/: /yawšanlan-/ 'to become clear': /yawšan/ 'light, bright'; /uylan-/ 'to get married': /uy/ 'house'

5. /-laš-/: /qattiqlaš-/ 'to become difficult': /qattiq/ 'difficult'

6. /-i-/: /tinči-/ 'to become quiet, calm': /tinč/ 'quiet, calm; quietly, calmly'; /bɔyi-/ 'to become wealthy': /bɔy/ 'wealthy'

7. /-iq-/: /ɔciq-/ 'to be hungry': /ɔč/ 'hungry; hungrily'

5.64. Verbs from verbs.

Deverbal derivational prefinal suffixes are attached to simple verb stems or to verb stems derived from nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, conjunctions, and interjections (5.61.-5.63., 5.65.-5.66.). They differ from the

derivational prefinal suffixes that form verbs from other word-classes in that: 1. each can, and frequently does, occur in combination with any of the others, and 2. they express voice. They are, in their most frequent order of occurrence: the causative-transitive voice formants, the passive and/or reflexive voice formants, and the reciprocal-cooperative voice formants. /kel-/ 'to come': /kel-tir-/ 'to bring': /kel-tir-il-/ 'to be brought': /kel-tir-iš-/ 'to bring together': /kel-iš-tir-/ 'to reconcile, cause to agree'

5.641. Causative-transitive verbs.

1. /-giz-/, /-ğiz-/, /-gaz-/: Occurs after final sonant, occasionally a vowel; usually attached to one-syllable stems: /kirgiz-/ 'to lead in, introduce': /kir-/ 'to enter'; /yegiz-/ 'to feed': /ye-/ 'to eat'; /otirğiz-/ 'to seat (someone)': /otir-/ 'to sit down'; /kiygiz-/ 'to dress (someone)': /kiy-/ 'to put on, don (clothes)'; /korgaz-/ 'to show': /kor-/ 'to see'

2. /-kiz-/, /-qiz-/, /-kaz-/, /-qaz-/: after /-t/, usually attached to one-syllable stems: /yɔtqiz-/ 'to put to bed; lay, pave': /yɔt-/ 'to lie down'; /bitkaz-/ 'to end, finish (tr.)': /bit-/ 'to end, finish (intr.)'; /otkaz-/ 'to let pass, conduct': /ot-/ 'to elapse, pass (intr.)'

3. /-ar-/, /-az-/, /-it-/: after /-q/ of one-syllable stems: /čiqar-/ ~ /čiqaz-/ 'to take out, put out, let out': /čiq-/ 'to go out'; /qorqit-/ 'to frighten': /qorq-/ 'to fear'

4. /-ir-/: attached to one-syllable stems ending in /t, š, č/: /očir-/ 'to extinguish': /oč-/ 'to go out, become extinguished'; /ičir-/ 'to water': /ič-/ 'to drink'; /bitir-/ 'to end, finish (tr.)': /bit-/ 'to end, finish (intr.)'; /pišir-/ 'to cook, boil (tr.)': /piš-/ 'to cook, boil (intr.)'

5. /-tir-/: after a voiceless consonant; usually attached to one-syllable stems: /ɔčtir-/ 'to cause to open': /ɔč-/ 'to open'; /ostir-/ 'to grow, raise (tr.)': /os-/ 'to grow, grow up (intr.)'; /sɔttir-/ 'to cause to sell': /sɔt-/ 'to sell'; /ornaštir-/ 'to rank, place (tr.)': /ornaš-/ 'to be ranked, placed'. Exception: /keltir-/ 'to bring': /kel-/ 'to come'

6. /-dir-/: after a voiced phoneme; usually attached to one-syllable stems: /yedir-/ 'to feed': /ye-/ 'to eat';

/qɔydir-/ 'to cause to put': /qɔy-/ 'to put, place'; /bildir-/ 'to inform, let (someone) know': /bil-/ 'to know'; /yɔzdir-/ 'to have (something) written': /yɔz-/ 'to write'; /qɔldir-/ 'to leave, abandon (tr.); relinquish': /qɔl-/ 'to stay, remain'; /urdir-/ 'to cause to strike': /ur-/ 'to strike'; /oldir-/ 'to kill': /ol-/ 'to die'

7. /-t-/: attached to multisyllabic stems ending in a vowel: /oqit-/ 'to teach, cause to learn': /oqi-/ 'to read, study'; /bɔyit-/ 'to enrich': /bɔyi-/ 'to become wealthy'; /uxlat-/ 'to put to sleep': /uxla-/ 'to sleep'; /ačit-/ 'to make sour, ferment (tr.)': /ači-/ 'to turn sour'; /wɔywɔylat-/ 'to cause to moan': /wɔywɔyla-/ 'to moan'

8. /-tir-/, /-t-/, /-it-/: attached to multisyllabic stems ending in a sonant: /otirt-/ 'to seat (someone)': /otir-/ 'to sit down'; /kopayt- ~kopaytir-/ 'to increase (tr.)': /kopay-/ 'to be numerous, flourish'; /gapirt- ~ gapirtir-/ 'to cause to say': /gapir-/ 'to say, speak'; /ɔqartir-/ 'to bleach': /ɔqar-/ 'to become white'; /sewintir-/ 'to delight': /sewin-/ 'to rejoice, be glad'; /čomiltir-/ 'to have someone bathe': /čomil-/ 'to bathe (intr.), swim'; /kučaytir-/ 'to strengthen': /kučay-/ 'to become strong, be strengthened'; /kirit-/ 'to lead in, introduce': /kir-/ 'to enter'; /aylantir-/ 'to turn (tr.), cause to turn': /aylan-/ 'to turn (intr.)'

Note: /t/ replaces final /n/ in the following stem: /orgat-/ 'to teach': /organ-/ 'to learn'

9. /-sat-/: attached to /kor-/: /korsat-/ 'to show': /kor-/ 'to see'

10. /-tir-/: attached to any of the various causative-transitive formants but /-tir-/, and to the other morphemes indicating voice.

a. after causative-transitive formant: /oqittir-/ 'to cause to teach, have (something or someone) taught': /oqit-/ 'to teach'; /očirtir-/ 'to have (something) extinguished': /očir-/ 'to extinguish'; /orgattir-/ 'to cause to teach, have (something or someone) taught': /orgat-/ 'to teach'; /yɔtqizdir-/ 'to have (someone) put to bed': /yɔtqiz-/ 'to put to bed'; /urdirtir-/ 'to cause to strike': /urdir-/ 'to cause to strike'

b. after passive-reflexive formant: /kiyintir-/ 'to dress (someone)': /kiyin-/ 'to get dressed, dress oneself'

c. after reciprocal-cooperative formant: /kelištir-/ 'to reconcile, cause to agree': /keliš-/ 'to come together, agree'; /sozlaštir-/ 'to cause to converse, cause to agree': /sozlaš-/ 'to converse, agree'

5.642. Passive-reflexive verbs.

1. /-il-/: after any consonant but /l/:

a. attached to non-deverbal verb stems: /ɔčil/ 'to be made known, appear, to be revealed': /ɔč-/ 'to open, reveal'; /kiyil-/ 'to be put on, donned': /kiy-/ 'to put on, don (clothes)'; /yuwil-/ 'to be washed': /yuw-/ 'to wash (someone or something)'; /organil-/ 'to be learned': /organ-/ 'to learn'; /sɔtil-/ 'to be sold': /sɔt-/ 'to sell'

b. attached to deverbal verb stems: /sozlanil-/ 'to be said': /sozlan-/ 'to be said'; /qollanil-/ 'to be supported': /qollan-/ 'to be supported'; /oqitil-/ 'to be taught': /oqit-/ 'to teach'; /korsatil-/ 'to be shown': /korsat-/ 'to show'; /kopaytiril-/ 'to be increased': /kopaytir-/ 'to increase (tr.)'

2. /l-/: after a vowel, but not after /-la-/: /tašil-/ 'to be carried': /taši-/ 'to carry'; /bezal-/ 'to be adorned': /beza-/ 'to adorn'

3. /-in-/: after stem-final /l/: /qilin-/ 'to be made, done': /qil-/ 'to do'; /čalin-/ 'to ring, to be played (bells)': /čal-/ 'to play (a musical instrument)'

4. /-n-/ 'after stem ending in /-la-/: /bɔšlan-/ 'to start (intr.), be begun': /bɔšla-/ 'to start (tr.), begin'; /sozlan-/ 'to be said; say to oneself': /sozla-/ 'to speak, say'; /aŋlan-/ 'to be understood': /aŋla-/ 'to understand'; /oğurlan-/ 'to be stolen': /oğurla-/ 'to steal'

Note: The preceding constructions are either passive or passive-reflexive, whereas the following, with few execptions, are strictly reflexive.

5. /-in-/: after a final consonant: /kiyin-/ 'to get dressed, dress oneself': /kiy-/ 'to put on, don (clothes)'; /yuwin-/ 'to wash oneself: /yuw-/ 'to wash (something or someone)'; /korin-/ 'to see oneself': /kor-/ 'to see'

6. /-n-/: after a final vowel: /bezan-/ 'to adorn oneself': /beza-/ 'to adorn'

5.643. Reciprocal-cooperative verbs.

1. /-iš-/: after a final consonant: /otiriš-/ 'to sit down together': /otir-/ 'to sit down'; /korišiš-/ 'to greet (one another)': /koriš-/ 'to see (something) together'; /gapiriš-/ 'to converse': /gapir-/ 'to say, speak'; /qošiliš-/ 'to be joined together': /qošil-/ 'to be joined'; /uriniš-/ 'to undertake together': /urin-/ 'to strike oneself; to attempt'; /urišiš-/ 'to quarrel, reproach (someone)': /uriš-/ 'to fight (one another)'

2. /-š-/: after a final vowel: /sozlaš-/ 'to converse, agree': /sozla-/ 'to speak, say'; /qollaš-/ 'to support one another': /qolla-/ 'to support'

5.65. Verbs from conjunctions.

/-la-/: /xɔhla-/ 'to want, wish': /xɔh ... xɔh/ 'whether or'

5.66. Verbs from interjections.

1. /-la-/: /uɸla-/ 'to breathe': /uɸ/ 'Oh!'; /bidirla-/ 'to chatter, prattle': /bidir bidir/ 'chattering sound'; /ǰaraŋla-/ 'to clang, tinkle': /ǰaraŋ/ 'clanging, tinkling sound'; /wɔywɔyla-/ 'to moan': /wɔy wɔy/ 'Oh, woe!'

2. /-laš-/: /xayrlaš-/ 'to take one's leave': /xayr/ 'Welcome!'

3. /-illa-/: /wiǰilla-/ 'to whistle, hiss': /wiǰ wiǰ/ 'hissing, whispering sound'; /aŋilla-/ 'to whine': /aŋ aŋ/ 'whining (of dogs)'

5.67. Compound verbs.

1. By composition of noun + verb:

/marhamat qil-/ 'to welcome': /marhamat/ 'kindness, mercy', /qil-/ 'to do'; /mehmɔn qil-/ 'to entertain': /mehmɔn/ 'guest', /qil-/ 'to do'; /tɔmɔša qil-/ 'to watch, view': /tɔmɔša/ 'show, scene', /qil-/ 'to do'; /ǰawɔp ber-/ 'to answer': /ǰawɔp/ 'answer', /ber-/ 'to give'; /dam ɔl-/ 'to rest': /dam/ 'rest', /ɔl-/ 'to take, receive'; /nazar

sɔl-/ 'to look at': /nazar/ 'glance, view', /sɔl-/ 'to put, place'; /yɔrdam ber-/ 'to help': /yɔrdam/ 'help', /ber-/ 'to give'; /bayɔn et-/ 'to explain': /bayɔn/ 'explanation', /et-/ 'to say'; /taklif et-/ 'to offer': /taklif/ 'offer, proposition; sentence', /et-/ 'to say'

2. By composition of adverb + verb:

/yaxši kor-/ 'to love': /yaxši/ 'well', /kor-/ 'to see'; /yɔmɔn kor-/ 'to hate': /yɔmɔn/ 'badly', /kor-/ 'to see'

3. For composition of verb + verb, see Chapter 6, "Inflection.")

5.7. Conjunctions.

5.71. Compound conjunctions.

1. By composition of noun or conjunction + such enclitic particles as /-da/ or /-či/ or a conjunction.

/hám-da/ 'also, and': /ham/ 'also, and'; /gár-da ~ agár-da/ 'if': /gar ~agar/ 'if'; /lekín-da/ 'but': /lekin/ 'but'; /bír-da/ 'and, and also': /bir/ 'one'; /gár-či/ 'even if': /gar ~agar/ 'if'; /esá-da/ 'even if': /esa/ 'as for, the same with, also'; /yóğ-esa ~yóq-esa/ 'otherwise': /yoq/ 'non-existence': /esa/ 'as for, the same with, also'

2. By composition of adverb or conjunction with the subordinating conjunction /ki ~(kim)/.

/negá-ki/ 'because': /nega/ 'why?'; /yɔ́-ki ~yɔ́-kim/ 'or': /yɔ/ 'or'; /hattɔ́-ki/ 'even': /hattɔ/ 'even'; /agár-ki/ 'if': /gar ~agar/ 'if'; /čúŋ-ki/ 'because': /čun/ 'because'

5.8. Interjections.

5.81. Compound interjections.

By reduplication or partial reduplication or by compounding of interjections: /ha-ha/ 'Oh! Oh!': /ha/ 'Yes! Oh!' /ɔ́b-bɔ/ 'Well, well!': /bɔ/ 'Well!'; /eh-e/ 'Hey! Hi!': /eh/ 'Hey! Hi!'

6. INFLECTION

6.1. Inflectional suffixes may be attached to nouns, pronouns, and verbs to form new grammatical constructions within the same word class. However, certain nouns and pronouns carrying inflectional endings may function as complex words of other classes—as postpositions or as adverbs—or they may combine with particles or the derivational suffixes /-ki/, /-gi/, or /-dir/. So too, verb stems carrying certain prefinal inflectional suffixes may function as verbal nouns, verbal adjectives, or verbal adverbs.

Inflectional suffixes belong to two distinct categories: nominal and verbal. Those in the first category are attached to nouns (and verbal nouns) or to pronouns; those in the second are affixed to verb stems.

6.2. Nominal inflection.

6.21. Nouns.

Nouns may occur with or without inflectional suffixes. One or more of these (in a fixed order) may be suffixed without resulting changes in the noun stem. First are the possessive suffixes, which are optional; after that come the case suffixes. Possessive and case endings are attached to simple, derived, or inflected stems.

Simple noun stem: /uy/ 'house': /uy-im-ga/ 'to my house'

Derived noun stem: /sɔtuwčilar/ 'salesmen, merchants': /sɔtuwčilar-miz-dan/ 'from our salesmen, merchants'

Verbal noun stem: /keltirmagan/ 'the not-bringing, failure to bring': /keltirmagan-iŋ-da/ 'in your not-bringing, failure to bring'

6.211. Possessive suffixes.

These define the owner of the object expressed by the noun as first, second, or third person of the singular or plural.

The possessive suffixes are as follows:

1a. /-im/ after a consonant: 'my': /pulim/ 'my money'; /kitɔblarim/ 'my books'

1b. /-m/ after a vowel: /ɔnam/ 'my mother'; /xizmatčim/ 'my clerk'

2a. /-iŋ/ after a consonant: 'your (inf. sg.)': /puliŋ/ 'your money'; /kitɔblariŋ/ 'your books'

2b. /-ŋ/ after a vowel: /ɔnaŋ/ 'your mother'; /xizmatčiŋ/ 'your clerk'

3a. /-i/ after a consonant: 'his, her, its, their': /puli/ '(his) money'; /kitɔblari/ '(her) books'

3b. /-si/ after a vowel: /ɔnasi/ '(his) mother'; /xizmatčisi/ '(their) clerk'; /siŋlisi/ '(his) younger sister'

4a. /-imiz/ after a consonant: 'our': /pulimiz/ 'our money'; /kitɔblarimiz/ 'our books'

4b. /-miz/ after a vowel: /ɔnamiz/ 'our mother'; /xizmatčimiz/ 'our clerk'

5a. /-iŋgiz/ after a consonant: 'your (pol. sg., pl.)': /puliŋgiz/ 'your money'; /kitɔblariŋgiz/ 'your books'

5b. /-ŋgiz/ after a vowel: /ɔnaŋgiz/ 'your mother'; /xizmatčiŋgiz/ 'your clerk'

6. /-lari/: 'their': (/-lari/ is less common than /-i ~ -si/. It is not attached to plural nouns, and it is not often found after verbal nouns): /pullari/ 'their money'; /kitɔblari/ 'their book' (homophonous form with /kitɔblari/ '(his) books' or '(their) books'); /xizmatčilari/ 'their clerks' (homophonous form with /xizmatčilari/ '(his) clerks' or '(their) clerks')

6.212. Case suffixes.

The case suffixes may be attached to noun stems with possessive suffixes or without possessive suffixes.

A noun stem which lacks a case suffix and occurs in the position of subject is termed a nominative form. It is either definite or indefinite, depending upon the syntactic context. /paxta/ 'cotton, the cotton'; /ɔtlar/ 'horses, the horses'; /dost/ 'friend, the friend'

The following case suffixes may be attached to noun stems:

1. /-ni/ 'accusative (definite)': /paχtani/ 'the cotton (acc.)'; /ɔtlarni/ 'the horses (acc.)'; /dostni/ 'the friend (acc.)'

2. /-ϕ/ 'accusative (indefinite)': /paxta/ 'cotton (acc.)'; /ɔtlar/ 'horses (acc.)'; /dost/ 'a friend (acc.)'

3. /-niŋ/ (occasionally /-ni/ in colloquial speech; usually /-ni/ after a noun with the possessive suffix /-iŋ ~ -ŋ/): 'genitive; of, belonging to': /ɔtlarniŋ/ 'of horses, of the horses'; /dostniŋ/ 'of the friend'

4a. /-ga/ after a vowel or voiced consonant: 'dative; to, into, towards (sometimes: onto, for, in, with)': /paxtaga/ 'to cotton, to the cotton'; /ɔtlarga/ 'to horses, to the horses'; /issiq suwga yuwinaman/ 'I wash in hot water'

4b. /-ka/ after a voiceless consonant: /dostka/ 'to the friend'

4c. /-qa/ often after a /-q/, /-x/, or /-ğ/: /ortɔqqa/ 'to the friend': /ortɔq ~ ortɔx/ 'friend/; /tɔqqa/ 'to the mountain': /tɔğ/ 'mountain'

5a. /-da/ after a vowel or voiced consonant: 'locative; in, at, on, by, with, during, through': /partada/ 'at the desk'; /uylarda/ 'in the houses'; /tramwayda/ 'by streetcar'

5b. /-nda/ after the 3rd person possessive suffix /-i ~ -si/ (/-da/ is more usual, however): /idɔrasinda/ 'in (his) office'

5c. /-ta/ after a voiceless consonant: /ğislɔqta/ 'in the village'

6a. /-dan/ after a vowel or voiced consonant: 'ablative; from (sometimes: because of)': /paxtadan/ 'from cotton, from the cotton'; /uylardan/ 'from houses, from the houses'

6b. /-ndan/ after 3rd person possessive suffix /-i ~ -si/ (/-dan/ is more common): /ustindan/ 'on, above, over': /ust/ 'top, upper part'

6c. /-tan/ after a voiceless consonant: /qislɔqtan/ 'from the village'

6.213. Paradigms.

/ɔt/ 'horse'	/ɔtlar/ 'horses'
/ɔtim/ 'my horse'	/ɔtlarim/ 'my horses'
/ɔtimni/ 'my horse (acc.)'	/ɔtlarimni/ 'my horses (acc.)'
/ɔtimniŋ/ 'of my horse'	/ɔtlarimniŋ/ 'of my horses'
/ɔtimga/ 'to my horse'	/ɔtlarimga/ 'to my horses'
/ɔtimda/ 'on my horse'	/ɔtlarimda/ 'on my horses'
/ɔtimdan/ 'from my horse'	/ɔtlarimdan/ 'from my horses'
/ɔtiŋ/ 'your (inf. sg.) horse'	/ɔtlariŋ/ 'your (inf. sg.) horses'
/ɔtiŋni/ 'your horses (acc.)'	/ɔtlariŋni/ 'your horses (acc.)'
/ɔtiŋni/ (not -iŋniŋ/) 'of your horse'	/ɔtlariŋni/ (not /-iŋniŋ/) 'of your horses'
/ɔtiŋga/ 'to your horse'	/ɔtlariŋga/ 'to your horses'
/ɔtiŋda/ 'on your horse'	/ɔtlariŋda/ 'on your horses'
/ɔtiŋdan/ 'from your horse'	/ɔtlariŋdan/ 'from your horses'
/ɔti/ 'his (her, their) horse'	/ɔtlari/ 'his (her, their) horses'
/ɔtini/ '(his) horse (acc.)'	/ɔtlarini/ '(his) horses (acc.)'
/ɔtiniŋ/ 'of (his) horse'	/ɔtlariniŋ/ 'of (his) horses'
/ɔtiga/ 'to (his) horse'	/ɔtlariga/ 'to (his) horses'
/ɔtida/ 'on (his) horse'	/ɔtlarida/ 'on (his) horses'
/ɔtidan/ 'from (his) horse'	/ɔtlaridan/ 'from (his) horses'

Note: The accusative (definite) suffix, combined with the 3rd person possessive allomorph /-si/, sometimes becomes /-sin/ in colloquial speech: /ɔtasin/ '(his) father': /ɔta/ 'father'

/ɔtimiz/ 'our horse'	/ɔtlarimiz/ 'our horses'
/ɔtimizni/ 'our horse (acc.)'	/ɔtlarimizni/ 'our horses (acc.)'
/ɔtimiznɪŋ/ 'of our horse'	/ɔtlarimiznɪŋ/ 'of our horses'
/ɔtimizga/ 'to our horse'	/ɔtlarimizga/ 'to our horses'
/ɔtimizda/ 'on our horse'	/ɔtlarimizda/ 'on our horses'
/ɔtimizdan/ 'from our horse'	/ɔtlarimizdan/ 'from our horses'
/ɔtɪŋgiz/ 'your (pol. sg., pl.) horse'	/ɔtlarɪŋgiz/ 'your (pol. sg., pl.) horses'
/ɔtɪŋgizni/ 'your horse (acc.)'	/ɔtlarɪŋgizni/ 'your horses (acc.)'
/ɔtɪŋgiznɪŋ/ 'of your horse'	/ɔtlarɪŋgiznɪŋ/ 'of your horses'
/ɔtɪŋgizga/ 'to your horse'	/ɔtlarɪŋgizga/ 'to your horses'
/ɔtɪŋgizda/ 'on your horse'	/ɔtlarɪŋgizda/ 'on your horses'
/ɔtɪŋgizdan/ 'from your horse'	/ɔtlarɪŋgizdan/ 'from your horses'
/ɔtlari/ 'their horse'	/ɔtlari/ 'their horses'
/ɔtlarini/ 'their horse (acc.)'	/ɔtlarini/ 'their horses (acc.)'
/ɔtlariniŋ/ 'of their horse'	/ɔtlariniŋ/ 'of their horses'
/ɔtlariga/ 'to their horse'	/ɔtlariga/ 'to their horses'
/ɔtlarida/ 'on their horse'	/ɔtlarida/ 'on their horses'
/ɔtlaridan/ 'from their horse'	/ɔtlaridan/ 'from their horses'

6.214. /oz/ 'self' (/ozlar/ 'selves') takes any of the possessive and case endings of nouns. /ozim/ 'myself, I myself'; /ozimga/ 'to myself'; /oziŋdan/ 'from yourself'; /ozini/ 'himself (acc., def.)'; /ozlari/ 'they themselves'; /ozlariniŋ/ 'of themselves'; /biznɪŋ ozimiz/ 'we ourselves'

/oziŋ išladiŋ/ 'you yourself worked'; /karim(niŋ) ozi/ 'Karim himself'; /ozimga ɔlaman/ 'I'll assume (it), take (it) upon myself'

In attributive position before another noun /oz/ signifies 'own'. /oziniŋ oğli/ 'his own son (lit. 'of-himself his-son')'

6.215. Indefinite and interrogative nouns.

These differ from "true" nouns in that they take only some of the case and possessive suffixes and/or form these irregularly.

6.2151. Indefinite or quantitative nouns.

1. /hamma/ 'all': /hammasi/ 'all of it, them (lit. its, their-all)'; /hammalari/ 'all of them (lit. their-all)'; /biznіŋ hammalarimiz/ 'we all, all of us'; /hammalariŋgiz/ 'all of you'; /hammamizga/ 'to all of us'

2. /barča/ 'all': /barčasi/ 'all of it, them'; /barčalari/ 'all of them'; /barčaga/ 'to all'; /gullarniŋ barčasi/ 'all the flowers'

3. /bari/ 'all': /barisi/ 'all of it, them'; /barimizdan/ 'from all of us'

4. /bazi ~ ba?zi/ 'some': /baziŋgiz/ 'some of you (lit. your-some)'; /bazilarimiz/ 'some of us'; /bazilari/ 'some of them'

5. /bir/ 'one': /bɔlalardan biri/ 'one of the children'

6. /ikki/ 'two': /ikkisini/ 'two of them (acc.)'

7. /kop/ 'much, many': /kopisi/ 'most of it, them'

6.2152. Interrogative nouns.

1. /kim/ 'who? (which person?)': /kimlar/ 'who? (which persons?)'; /kimniŋ/ 'of whom? whose?'; /kimlardan/ 'from whom?'; /har kimimiz/ 'every one of us'; /kimiŋ u/ 'what is he to you? (lit. your-who is-he?)'

2. /nima/ 'what?': /nimalarni/ 'what things (acc.)?'; /nimadan/ 'from what?'; /ɔtaŋni nimasi/ 'your father's what? what thing of your father?'; /nimaga/ 'why?'

3. /ne/ 'what (thing)?': /nelar/ 'what (things)?'; /u seŋga nelar dedi/ 'what did (he) say to you?'; /nečadir/ 'however much, however many'

4. /qay ~ qa- ~ qan-/ 'what (thing)?': /qaysi/ 'which?'; /qančalaridan/ 'from which of them?'; /qanday/ 'what kind?'; /qanaqa/ 'what kind?'

6.216. Nouns with the dative suffix may acquire the derivational suffix /-gi/ (and optionally /-lar/), forming new nouns (or adjectives). /uyimdagilar/ '(the things) that are in my house': /uyimda/ 'in my house.' Nouns with the genitive suffix in the form /-ni/ may combine with /-ki/ (and /-lar/) to form new nouns. Attached to a proper noun, the sequence /-niki/, without /-lar/, denotes 'the home of.' /nazarnikida turdim/ 'I lived at the Nazars'; /ɔtanikilar/ 'father's (things)'; /bu ɔpamniki/ 'this is my older sister's'; /ortɔqlariŋniki/ 'your friends' (thing)'; /ozimniki/ 'mine, my own (thing)'; /oziniki qilib-ɔldi/ '(he) appropriated (something) for himself (for his own)'; /kimniki/ 'whose (thing)?'

6.217. A noun (but not a verbal noun), with or without a possessive suffix, may acquire certain enclitic particles when it is the head of an equational clause. These particles usually occur in the following order: 1. the predicative particle (copula particle): /-dir ~ -dur ~ -tir ~ -tur/; 2. personal predicative particles (+ optional plural suffix): /-man/, /-san/, /-ϕ/, /-miz(lar)/, /-siz(lar)/, /-ϕ(lar)/; and 3. "sentence" enclitics: /-mi/, /-ku/, /-či/, etc. Where a subject is present, the first two classes of particles often appear as /-ϕ/. /ortɔqlarisiz/ 'you (pl.) are (his) friends'; /men student ~ men studenttir ~ men studentturman/ 'I am a student'; /u saparči(dir)/ '(he) is a traveler'

Occasionally the position of /-mi/ 'interrogative particle' and a personal predicative particle is reversed. E.g. /sɔğmisiz/ 'are you (pol. sg., pl.) well?'

6.22. Pronouns.

Pronouns carry all the case suffixes but /-ϕ/ (indef. acc.). With very few exceptions, they do not take possessive suffixes. They also diverge from nouns in that their nominative singular form may be somewhat different from their stem form — that which acquires case suffixes. Finally, unlike nouns, pronouns are not modified by adjectives (4.44.) or by attributes in the genitive case (7.312.).

6.221. Personal pronouns.

All but /men ~ man/ have forms with /-lar/. However, /senlar/ 'you (very rude to a group)' is little used.

1. 1st person singular.
   Nominative: /men ~ man/ 'I'
   Stem: /me- ~ meŋ- ~ men-/
   /meni/ 'me'
   /meniŋ/ 'of me, my' (occasionally /meni/ in colloquial speech)
   /meŋga/ 'to me'
   /menda/ 'in me'
   /mendan/ 'from me'

2. 2nd person singular.
   Nominative: /sen ~ san/ 'you (inf. sg.)'
   Stem: /se- ~ seŋ- ~ sen-/
   /seni/ 'you (inf. sg., acc.)'
   /seniŋ/ 'of you, your (inf. sg.)' (occasionally /seni/ in colloquial speech)
   /seŋga/ 'to you (inf. sg.)'
   /senda/ 'in you (inf. sg.)'
   /sendan/ 'from you (inf. sg.)'

3. 1st person plural.
   Nominative: /biz/ 'we'; /bizlar/ 'we (a group)'
   Stem: /biz-/; /bizlar-/

/bizni/ 'us'	/bizlarni/ 'us (a group)'
/bizniŋ/ 'of us, our'	/bizlarniŋ/ 'of us, our (a group)'
/bizga/ 'to us'	/bizlarga/ 'to us (a group)'
/bizda/ 'in us'	/bizlarda/ 'in us (a group)'
/bizdan/ 'from us'	/bizlardan/ 'from us (a group)'

4. 2nd person plural.
   Nominative: /siz/ 'you (pol. sg., pl.); /sizlar/ 'you (a group)'
   Stem: /siz-/; /sizlar-/

/sizni/ 'you (pol. sg., pl., acc.)'	/sizlarni/ 'you (a group, acc.)'
/siznиŋ/ 'of you, your (pol. sg., pl.)'	/sizlarniŋ/ 'of you, your (a group)'
/sizga/ 'to you (pol. sg., pl.)'	/sizlarga/ 'to you (a group)'
/sizda/ 'in you (pol. sg., pl.)'	/sizlarda/ 'in you (a group)'
/sizdan/ 'from you (pol. sg., pl.)'	/sizlardan/ 'from you (a group)'

5. 3rd person singular.
   Nominative: /u ~ ul/, sometimes /oša ~ ošal/, 'he, she, it, they'
   Stem: /u- ~ uŋ- ~ un-/, sometimes /oša- ~ ošaŋ- ~ ošan-/

6. 3rd person plural.
   Nominative: /ular/, sometimes /ošalar/ 'they'
   Stem: /ular-/, /ošalar-/

Note: In its structure—i.e. in the patterning of its nominative and stem forms, and in the frequent use of the singular stem as a plural—as well as apparently in its origin, the 3rd person pronoun is a demonstrative pronoun (see 6.222).

6.222. Demonstrative pronouns.

Unlike the situation for personal pronouns, the singular of demonstratives can have singular or plural meaning. (Cf. the adjectives /bu/ 'this, these'; /šu, u/ 'that, those')

1. Nominative: /bu ~ bul/ 'this, these'; /bular/ 'these'
   Stem: /bu- ~ buŋ- ~ bun-/; /bular-/

/buni/ 'this, these (acc.)'	/bularni/ 'these (acc.)'
/buniŋ/ 'of this, these'	/bularniŋ/ 'of these'
/buŋga/ 'to this, these'	/bularga/ 'to these'
/bunda/ 'in this, these'	/bularda/ 'in these'
/bundan/ 'from this, these'	/bulardan/ 'from these'

2. Nominative: /šu ~ šul/ 'that, those (near)'; /šular/ 'those (near)'
   Stem: /šu- ~ šuŋ- ~ šun-/; /šular-/

/šuni/ 'that, those (near, acc.)'	/šularni/ 'those (near, acc.)'
/šuniŋ/ 'of that, those (near)'	/šularniŋ/ 'of those (near)'
/šuŋga/ 'to that, those (near)'	/šularga/ 'to those (near)'
/šunda/ 'in that, those (near)'	/šularda/ 'in those (near)'
/šundan/ 'from that, those (near)'	/šulardan/ 'from those (near)'

3. Nominative: /u ~ ul/ 'that, those (distant); he, she, it, they'; /ular/ 'those (distant); they'
   Stem: /u- ~ uŋ- ~ un-/; /ular-/

/uni/ 'that, those (distant, acc.); him, her, it, them (acc.)'	/ularni/ 'those (distant, acc.); them (acc.)'
/uniŋ/ 'of that, those (distant); of him, her, it, them'	/ularniŋ/ 'of those (distant); of them'
/uŋga/ 'to that, those (distant); to him, her, it, them'	/ularga/ 'to those (distant); to them'
/unda/ 'in that, those (distant); in him, her, it, them'	/ularda/ 'in those (distant); in them'
/undan/ 'from that, those (distant); from him, her, it, them'	/ulardan/ 'from those (distant); from them'

The following demonstrative pronouns are less common:

4. Nominative: /ušbu ~ ušbul/ 'this, these'; /ušbular/ 'these'
   Stem: /ušbu- ~ ušbuŋ- ~ ušbun-/; /ušbular-/

/ušbuni/ 'this, these (acc.)'	/ušbularni/ 'these (acc.)'

/ušbuniŋ/ 'of this, these'	/ušbularniŋ/ 'of these'
/ušbuŋga/ 'to this, these'	/ušbularga/ 'to these'
/ušbunda/ 'in this, these'	/ušbularda/ 'in these'
/ušbundan/ 'from this, these'	/ušbulardan/ 'from these'

5. Nominative: /oša ~ ošal/ 'that, those (distant); he, she, it, they'; /ošalar/ 'those (distant); they'
Stem: /oša- ~ ošaŋ- ~ ošan-/; /ošalar-/

/ošani/ 'that, those (distant, acc.); him, her, it, them (acc.)'	/ošalarni/ 'those (distant, acc.); them (acc.)'
/ošaniŋ/ 'of that, those (distant); of him, her, it, them'	/ošalarniŋ/ 'of those (distant); of them'
/ošaŋga/ 'to that, those (distant); to him, her, it, them'	/ošalarga/ 'to those (distant); to them'
/ošanda/ 'in that, those (distant); in him, her, it, them'	/ošalarda/ 'in those (distant); in them'
/ošandan/ 'from that those (distant); from him, her, it, them'	/ošalardan/ 'from those (distant); from them'

6.2221. The demonstrative pronouns may be combined with the adverbs /mana/ 'right here, there (near)' and /ana/ 'over there.' The various degrees of proximity are roughly as follows:

/bu ~ bul/ 'this, these'
/mana bu ~ manaw(u)/ 'this, these (right here)'
/ušbu/ 'this, these'
/mana šu/ 'that, those (near)'
/šu ~ šul/ 'that, those (near)'
/ana šu/ 'that, those (over there)'
/oša ~ ošal/ 'that, those'

/u ~ ul/ 'that, those (distant)'
/ana u ~ ana ul ~ anaw(u)/ 'that, those (over there)'

6.2222. /šu ~ šul/, at least, occasionally takes possessive endings; these latter, except for /-lari/, are attached to the stem allomorph in final /n/. /mana šunim/ 'that (thing) of mine (near)'; /mana šunisi/ 'that (thing) of him, her, it, them (near)'

6.223. In the case of both personal and demonstrative pronouns, certain derivational suffixes may be added to the stem allomorph in final /n/ to form adverbs.

1. /-day ~ -dak ~ -dek/ 'equative': /šunday/ 'like that (near)'; /bunday ~ bundak ~ bundek/ 'like this'; /unday/ 'like that (distant)'; /ošanday/ 'like that, those (right there)'

2. /-ča/ 'equative': /bisča/ 'like us'; /unča/ 'like that (distant)'; /senča/ 'like you'; /bunča/ 'like this, as much as this'

/-ča/, appended to the genitive of personal pronouns, imparts a slightly different meaning than when it is attached to the simple stem: /meniŋča/ (also /menimča/) 'according to me, in my opinion'; /bizniŋča/ 'in our opinion'

Note: Before either of these particles the stem form /bun-/ may appear as /mun-/: /munča/ 'like this'; /munday/ 'like this'

6.224. Any members of the pronoun class may take the special compound suffix /-niki/ (/-nikilar/) (discussed under 6.216.). Here also, /-niki/, without following /-lar/, can indicate 'the home of.'

1. Personal pronouns: (in the case of singular pronouns, /-niki/ is attached to the stem allomorph that ends in a vowel): /meniki/ 'mine, my thing'; /senikilar/ 'yours, your things'; /bizniki/ 'ours, our thing'; /biznikilar/ 'ours, our people (or things)'; /sizlarnikiga/ 'to yours, your people (or things)'

2. Demonstrative pronouns: /uniki ~ oniki/ 'his, hers, its, theirs; his, her, its, their thing'

Note: /-niki/, when it is attached to personal pronouns, may simply impart emphasis. /siznikiga/ 'to you, to your

house (pol. sg., pl.)'; /biznikiga čiq/ 'come and see us!'· /biznikilar/ 'we!': /bizlar/ 'we'

6.23. Postpositions.

The postposition class (words that combine with a preceding noun or pronoun) includes, among other forms, nouns which carry only certain of the inflectional endings: typically these are the 3rd person singular possessive suffix and either the dative, locative, or ablative case suffixes.

/daryɔ-yɔnida/ 'near the river': /-yɔnida ~ -yɔninda/ 'near, beside (lit. in-its-vicinity)': /yɔn/ 'vicinity'

/taxta-ustinda/ 'on the (low) table': /-ustinda/ 'on': /ust/ 'upper part'

/ešik-ɔrqasiga/ 'behind the door': /-ɔrqasiga/ 'behind': /ɔrqa/ 'back (part)'

/xɔtin-ɔldida/ 'in the presence of women': /-ɔldida/ 'in front of': /ɔld/ 'front (part)'

/bɔzɔr-ičida/ 'inside the bazaar': /-ičida ~ -ičinda/ 'inside': /ič/ 'interior, inner part'

/meniŋ-yaqininda/ 'beside me': /-yaqinida ~ -yaqininda/ 'beside': /yaqin/ 'vicinity'

6.3. Verbal inflection.

Finite verbs carry three kinds of inflectional suffixes. First is the negative mode prefinal suffix, attached to the simple or derived verbal stem. Next in order are the tense-mode-aspect prefinal suffixes and after that the personal endings (in some instances with the plural enclitic particle /-lar/ appended). A "sentence" enclitic particle /-mi, -či, -ku/, etc., where present, normally occurs last but sometimes may precede the personal suffixes. The structure of the finite verb is, then: stem + negative morpheme + tense-mode-aspect formant(s) + personal ending + plural enclitic particle + "sentence" enclitic. For example:

Simple verb stem: /ye-/ 'to eat'
Derived verb stem: /yegiz-/ 'to feed'
Negative derived verb stem: /yegizma-/ 'not to feed'

Preterite stem: /yedi-/; /yegizdi-/; /yegizmadi-/
Finite verb in the preterite: /yedim/ 'I ate'; /yemadiŋ/ 'you didn't eat'; /yegizdimiz/ 'we fed'

6.31. Tense-mode-aspect prefinal suffixes.

These are inflectional morphemes that may be attached to verb stems to form preterite stems, future stems, etc. Each selects a particular set of personal suffixes in conjunction with which it creates finite verbs.

In addition, most of these prefinal suffixes also create verbal nouns, verbal adjectives (participles), or verbal adverbs (gerunds). In most instances the resulting forms convey the tense-mode-aspect meaning of the corresponding finite verb constructions. Verbal nouns and verbal adjectives may acquire certain derivational suffixes—e.g. /-lik/ 'state, action,' /-li/ 'adjective formant,' but not /-lar/. In turn, verbal nouns with suffixes like /-lik/ can carry possessive and/or case endings.

/bilmas/ 'not knowing' > /bilmaslik/ 'ignorance' > /bilmasligi/ '(his) ignorance' > /bilmasligidan/ 'from (because of) (his) ignorance'

/tušunar/ 'understanding' > /tušunarli/ 'understandable'

/turmɔqči/ 'intending to reside' > /turmɔqčilik/ 'intention to reside' > /turmɔqčim/ 'my intention to reside' > /turmɔqčimni/ 'my intention to reside (acc.)'

/qorqqan/ 'fearing, having feared' > /qorqqanlik/ 'fearing' > /qorqqanligi/ '(his) fearing' > /qorqqanligini/ '(his) fearing (acc.)'

We discuss each of the tense-mode-aspect markers primarily as finite verb formants, but in the process we note the additional functions they may fulfill. They are grouped according to the particular set of personal suffixes they select (6.32.).

6.311. The tense-mode-aspect prefinal suffixes are as follows:

A. Select personal suffixes set 1.

1. /-gan- ~ -kan- ~ -qan-/: forms the past tense (perfective aspect), as well as the perfective verbal noun

and verbal adjective. Attached to /-a-yɔt- ~ -ϕ-yɔt-/ (2. below), it serves as an imperfective verbal noun or verbal adjective formant. With the locative case suffix /-da/, it forms gerundial constructions.

2. /-yɔtir- ~ -yɔt-/: marks non-habitual aspect. Always follows the present-future formant /-a- ~ -y- ~ -ϕ-/, with which it denotes the present tense, imperfective (non-habitual) aspect—specifically, the momentary present. In conjunction with /-kan-/, it creates imperfective verbal nouns and adjectives.

3. /-di(r)gan- ~ -durgan-/: marks obligatory mode. Usually follows the present-future tense formant /-a- ~ -y- ~ -ϕ-/, with which it creates the future tense, obligatory mode. Forms verbal nouns or adjectives denoting the habitual present or (sometimes obligatory) future. Occasionally combines with the present-possibilitative future to form obligatory future verbal nouns and verbal adjectives.

4. /-aǰak- ~ -aǰag-/: forms the definite future tense. Follows the present-future marker /-a- ~ -y- ~ -ϕ-/. Also forms future verbal nouns and verbal adjectives.

5. /-ar- ~ -ur- ~ -r- ~ -s-/: forms the present tense, imperfective (habitual) aspect, and the future tense, possibilitative mode. Forms habitual present or future verbal nouns and verbal adjectives.

6. /-mɔqta-/ (deverbal noun formant /-mɔq/ + locative case suffix /-ta/): forms the present tense, imperfective (non-habitual) aspect—specifically, the present progressive. Forms verbal nouns.

7. /-mɔqči- ~ -mɔxči-/ (-mɔq/ + agentive suffix /-či/): forms the future tense, intentive mode. Creates verbal nouns. (Unlike /-mɔq/, it can occur on a negative verb stem.)

B. Select personal suffixes set 2.

1. /-a- ~ -y- ~ -ϕ-/: forms the present tense, imperfective (habitual) aspect, and the future tense. Also forms the imperfective gerund (verbal adverb).

2. /-ib- ~ -ip- ~ -b- ~ -p-/: forms the past tense, narrative or subjective mode, imperfective (non-habitual) aspect. Also forms the perfective gerund (verbal adverb).

Note: Some of the formants under section A or B may combine with the copula particle to form constructions in the emphatic (or affirmative) or the dubitative modes (6.3821.).

C. Select personal suffixes set 3.

1. /-sa-/: marks the conditional mode. As verbal noun it forms gerundial constructions and, with the adjective /kerak/ 'necessary,' the potential mode.

2. /-di- ~ -ti-/: forms the preterite tense. Usually indicates completed action in the recent past.

D. Selects personal suffixes set 4.

/-ϕ-/: forms the imperative-subjunctive-optative mode.

6.32. Personal suffixes (and the pluralizing enclitic particle).

There are three persons and two numbers (singular and plural). Person is indicated by personal endings, most of which are enclitics. Personal endings without the plural formant /-lar/ are inherently neither singular nor plural. In the absence of /-lar/, singular or plural meaning is determined by the subject noun or pronoun or, lacking these, from the broader context.

A. Set 1:

These are the enclitic personal predicative particles that are optionally attached to nouns or adjectives in equational clauses, sometimes in conjunction with the copula particle. In finite verbal constructions, however, they are obligatory, and they occur in association with the copula particle only where a special meaning is intended.

1st sg.	/-man/	'I'
2nd sg.	/-san/	'you (inf. sg.)'
3rd sg.	/-ϕ/	'he, she, it'; often 'they'
1st pl.	/-miz/	'we'; rarely /-mizlar/ 'we (a group)'
2nd pl.	/-siz/	'you (pol. sg., pl.)'; quite often /-sizlar/ 'you (a group)'
3rd pl.	/-ϕ-lar/	'they'

B. Set 2:

1st sg.	/-man/	'I'
2nd sg.	/-san/	'you (inf. sg.)'
3rd sg.	/-di ~ -ti/	'he, she, it'; often 'they'; occasionally non-standard /-dir/ occurs
1st pl.	/-miz/	'we'; occasionally /-wuz-/ after allomorph /-a-/ of the present-future formant. Rarely /-mizlar/ 'we (a group)'
2nd pl.	/-siz/	'you (pol. sg., pl.)'; /-sizlar/ 'you (a group)'
3rd pl.	/-dilar ~ -tilar/	'they'; occasionally non-standard /-dirlar/ occurs

C. Set 3:

1st sg.	/-m/	'I'
2nd sg.	/-ŋ/	'you (inf. sg.)'
3rd sg.	/-ϕ/	'he, she, it'; sometimes 'they'
1st pl.	/-k/	'we'; sometimes /-miz/. Colloquial /-wuz/ may occur after the conditional formant
2nd pl.	/-ŋgiz/	'you (pol. sg., pl.)'; /-ŋgizlar/ 'you (a group)'
3rd pl.	/-ϕ-lar/	'they'

D. Set 4:

1st sg.	/-ay ~ -y/	'I'; rarely /-ayin ~ -yin/
2nd sg.	/-ϕ/	'you (inf. sg.)'; sometimes /-gin, -gir/ etc.
3rd sg.	/-sin/	'he, she, it'; sometimes 'they'

1st pl.	/-aylik ~ -ylik/	'we'; usually replaced by present-future formant /-a- ~ -y-/ + /-miz/
2nd pl.	/-iŋ ~ -ŋ/	'you (pol. sg., sometimes inf. pl.)'
	/-iŋgiz ~ -ŋgiz/	'you (pl., sometimes pol. sg.)'
	/-iŋlar ~ -ŋlar/	'you (inf. pl., to a group)'
	/-iŋgizlar ~ -ŋgizlar/	'you (pol. pl., to a group)'
3rd pl.	/-sinlar/	'they'; sometimes 'you (extremely pol. sg. or pl.)'

6.33. Paradigms.

The constructions resulting from the combination of verbal stem and inflectional suffixes are discussed in the order in which the tense-mode-aspect suffixes appear under 6.311.

A. With personal suffixes set 1.

1. Past tense (perfective aspect): usually denotes action completed in the relatively distant past, the results of which may or may not still be apparent.

a. After stem ending in a voiced consonant except /ğ/ or in a vowel:

1st sg. /-gan-man/; 2nd sg. /-gan-san/; 3rd sg. /-gan-ϕ/; 1st pl. /-gan-miz/; 2nd pl. /-gan-siz/; 3rd pl. /-gan-ϕ-lar/:

/kelganman/ 'I came, have come'	/kelganmiz/ 'we came, have come'
/kelgansan/ 'you came, have come'	/kelgansiz/ 'you (pol. sg., pl.) came, have come'
/kelgan/ '(he) came, has come'	/kelganlar/ 'they came, have come'

b. After a stem ending in /ğ/: (here /ğ/ > /q/):

1st sg. /-qan-man/; 2nd sg. /-qan-san/; etc.

/tuqqanman/ 'I gave, have given birth (to)'
/tuqqansan/ 'you gave, have given birth (to)'
etc.

c. After stem ending in a voiceless consonant:

1st sg. /-kan-man/; 2nd sg. /-kan-san/; etc.

/ketkanman/ 'I went (away), have gone (away)'
/ketkansan/ 'you went (away), have gone (away)'
/ketkan/ '(he) went (away), has gone (away)'
etc.

d. With the negative stem:

/soramaganman/ 'I asked, have asked'
/soramagansan/ 'you asked, have asked'
/soramagan/ '(he) asked, has asked'
etc.

e. With the interrogative particle:

/yeganmammi/ 'did I eat? have I eaten?'
/yegansammi/ 'did you eat? have you eaten?'
/yegammi/ 'did (he) eat? has (he) eaten?'
etc.

f. As verbal noun: denotes result of an action (can take possessive or case suffixes): usually perfective, but sometimes imperfective:

/korganim bɔr/ 'I have seen it (lit. my-having-seen is-existent)'; /korgazganiŋga/ 'to your explanation'; /yɔkatkani/ '(his) losing, having lost'; /sɔğuš bɔšlaŋgaŋga-qadar/ 'before the beginning of the war (lit. until the-war having-begun)'; /bolmagani/ '(its) non-existence'; /yeganim yoq edi/ 'I hadn't eaten'

g. As verbal adjective (participle): usually perfective, but sometimes also imperfective:

/men yɔzgan kitɔbim/ 'the book that I wrote'; /korgan qiz/ 'the girl who sees, saw, has seen'; /birinči kelgan kunim/ 'on my first day (lit. my first having-arrived day)'; /turgan dostim/ 'my friend who is, was standing'; /keltirmagan kši/ 'the man who does not bring, has not brought, did not bring'

h. As gerundial formant (with possessive suffixes and /-da/) (also see 8.3.):

/bilganimda/ 'if I knew, had known'; /man pul tɔpmaganimda/ 'if I hadn't found the money'; /yeganlarinda/ 'while they ate.' Without possessive suffixes and followed by /edi-/, it denotes the unreal in the present. /aytkanda edim/ 'if I were to say, if I said (now),'

2. Non-habitual aspect: follows the present-future tense, imperfective (habitual) aspect marker /-a- ~ -y- ~ -ϕ-/, with which it forms the present tense, imperfective (non-habitual) aspect. Specifically, it denotes action at the present moment, action expected to extend only into the near future. In colloquial speech it may be replaced by /-a-yap- ~ -yap-/ or /-wɔt-/ (6.3823.B.1.1., 2.k.).

a. After the allomorph /-a-/ of the present-future formant:

1st sg. /-a-yɔtir-man/; 2nd sg. /-a-yɔtir-san/; 3rd sg. /-a-yɔtir-ϕ/; 1st pl. /-a-yɔtir-miz/; 2nd pl. /-a-yɔtir-siz/; 3rd pl. /-a-yɔtir-ϕ-lar/:

/kelayɔtirman/ 'I am (in the process of) coming'
/kelayɔtirsan/ 'you are (in the process of) coming'
/kelayɔtir/ '(he) is (in the process of) coming'
etc.

b. After the allomorph /-ϕ-/ of the present-future formant:

1st sg. /-ϕ-yɔtir-man/; 2nd sg. /-ϕ-yɔtir-san/; 3rd sg. /-ϕ-yɔtir-ϕ/; 1st pl. /-ϕ-yɔtir-miz/; 2nd pl. /-ϕ-yɔtir-siz/; 3rd pl. /-ϕ-yɔtir-ϕ-lar/:

/sorayɔtirman/ 'I am (in the process of) asking'
etc.
/yeyɔtirman/ 'I am (in the process of) eating'
etc.

c. With the negative and interrogative morphemes:

1st sg. /-ma-ϕ-yɔtir-man-mi/; 2nd sg. /-ma-ϕ-yɔtir-san-mi/; 3rd sg. /-ma-ϕ-yɔtir-ϕ-mi/, etc.:

Note: Verbal nouns and adjectives (below) are formed by attaching /-kan-/ to /-yɔt-/.

d. As verbal noun (usually present, but sometimes past):

/sorayɔtkanim/ 'my asking, my having asked'; /ešitmayɔtkaniŋgizda/ 'in your not hearing'; /išlayɔtkanini/ '(their) working (acc.)'; /uniŋ deyɔtkanini bilaman/ 'I know that (he) is saying'; /kelayɔtkanliklarini bilaman/ 'I know that they are arriving'

e. As verbal adjective (past or present, depending upon the context):

/sozlayɔtkan kši/ 'the man who is (was) talking'; /sɔtilayɔtkan gurunč/ 'the rice which is (was) being sold'; /yɔzayɔtkan kitɔbim/ 'the book which I am writing, have been writing'; /ketayɔtkan qiz/ 'the girl who is (was) leaving (going away)'

3. Obligatory mode: usually follows the present-future formant /-a- ~ -y- ~ -ϕ-/, with which it forms the future tense, obligatory mode. Occasionally follows the present-possibilitative future formant.

a. After the allomorph /-a-/ of the present-future tense formant:

1st sg. /-a-di(r)gan-man/; 2nd sg. /-a-di(r)gan-san/; 3rd sg. /-a-di(r)gan-ϕ-/; 1st pl. /-a-di(r)gan-miz/; 2nd pl. /-a-di(r)gan-siz/; 3rd pl. /-a-di(r)gan-ϕ-lar/:

/keladiganman/ 'I am to come, must come'
(also: 'I will be coming, want to come')
/keladigansan/ 'you are to come, must come'

/keladigan/ '(he) is to come, must come'
etc.

b. After the allomorph /-y-/ of the present-future tense formant:

1st sg. /-y-digan-man/; 2nd sg. /-y-digan-san/; 3rd sg. /-y-digan-ϕ/; 1st pl. /-y-digan-miz/; 2nd pl. /-y-digan-siz/; 3rd pl. /-y-digan-ϕ-lar/:

/soraydiganman/ 'I am to ask, must ask'
/soraydigansan/ 'you are to ask, must ask'
/soraydigan/ '(he) is to ask, must ask'
etc.

c. With negative and interrogative morphemes:

1st sg. /-ma-y-digan-man-mi/; 2nd sg. /-ma-y-digan-san-mi/; 3rd sg. /-ma-y-digan-ϕ-mi/; etc.

/sozlamaydiganmammi/ 'am I not to say, speak?'
etc.

d. As verbal noun: it usually denotes the habitual present or the obligatory future, occasionally the past.

/biznиŋ oqiydiganimizni/ 'the thing that we have to (had to) read, study (acc.)'; /siznиŋ ketadiganиŋgizni bilaman/ 'I know that you (pol. sg., pl.) must go, are to go'; /koradiganlardan biri/ 'one of those who saw'

e. As verbal adjective: denotes the habitual present or the obligatory future. It may indicate the past if the finite verb is in the past.

/sɔtmaydigan kši/ 'the man who will not sell'; /men yɔzadi(r)gan kitɔbim/ 'the book that I will write, am writing (have been since the recent past and still am), must write'; /qiladigan išni/ 'the work which is to be done, must be done'; /meniŋ iška bɔradigan waqtim/ 'the time when I (habitually) go to work'

Note: With the present-possibilitative future formant /-ar- ~ -ur- ~ -r- ~ -s-/, /-di(r)gan- ~ -durgan-/

forms obligatory future verbal adjectives. /men aytardigan ašula ~ men aytardurgan ašula/ 'the song that I am to sing'

f. As gerundial formant (with /-da/):

/yiydiganda/ 'while eating'

4. Definite future tense: follows the present-future tense formant /-a- ~ -y- ~ -ϕ-/.

a. After the allomorph /-ϕ-/ of the present-future formant:

1st sg. /-ϕ-ajak-man/; 2nd sg. /-ϕ-ajak-san/; 3rd sg. /-ϕ-ajak-ϕ/; 1st pl. /-ϕ-ajak-miz/; 2nd pl. /-ϕ-ajak-siz/; 3rd pl. /-ϕ-ajak-ϕ-lar/:

/kelajakman/ 'I will (shall) come'
/kelajaksan/ 'you will come'
/kelajak/ '(he) will come'
etc.

b. After the allomorph /-y-/ of the present-future formant:

1st sg. /-y-ajak-man/; 2nd sg. /-y-ajak-san/; 3rd sg. /-y-ajak-ϕ/; 1st pl. /-y-ajak-miz/; 2nd pl. /-y-ajak-siz/; 3rd pl. /-y-ajak-ϕ-lar/:

/sorayajakman/ 'I will (shall) ask'
etc.
/oqiyajak/ '(he) will read, study'
etc.

c. With the negative morpheme:

1st sg. /-ma-y-ajak-man/; 2nd sg. /-ma-y-ajak-san/; 3rd sg. /-ma-y-ajak-ϕ/; 1st pl. /-ma-y-ajak-miz/; 2nd pl. /-ma-y-ajak-siz/; 3rd pl. /-ma-y-ajak-ϕ-lar/:

/sozlamayajakman/ 'I will not speak'
etc.

d. With the interrogative particle:

1st sg. /-y-ajak-man-mi/; 2nd sg. /-y-ajak-san-mi/; 3rd sg. /-y-ajak-ϕ-mi/; etc.

/yeyaǰakmammi/ 'will I eat?'
/yeyaǰakmizmi/ 'will we eat?'
/yeyaǰaksammi/ 'will you eat?'
/yeyaǰaksizmi/ 'will you (pol. sg., pl.) eat?'
/yeyaǰakmi/ 'will (he) eat?'
/yeyaǰaklar/ 'will they eat?'

Note: Occasionally in these and other finite verb forms, the position of personal suffix and interrogative particle is reversed—e.g. /deyaǰakmisiz/ 'will you (pol. sg., pl.) say?'

e. With the negative and interrogative morphemes:

1st sg. /-ma-y-aǰak-man-mi/; etc.

/oqumayaǰakmammi/ 'will I not eat?'
etc.

f. As verbal noun (future tense is usually at least implied):

/kelaǰagimda/ 'at my arrival'; /sorayaǰagimiz/ 'our asking'; /yɔrdam beraǰagiŋ kerak/ 'you must help (lit. your helping is-necessary)'

g. As verbal adjective:

/sɔtaǰak kši/ 'the man who will sell'; /sɔtilaǰak gurunč/ 'the rice which will be sold'; /bɔšlanaǰak iška/ 'to the work which will begin'

5. Present-possibilitative future (sometimes momentary present).

a. After stem ending in a consonant:

1st sg. /-ar-man/; 2nd sg. /-ar-san/; 3rd sg. /-ar-ϕ/; 1st pl. /-ar-miz/; 2nd pl. /-ar-siz/; 3rd pl. /-ar-ϕ-lar/:

/kelarman/ 'I come, (possibly) will come'
/kelarmiz/ 'we come, (possibly) will come'
/kelarsan/ 'you come, (possibly) will come'
/kelarsiz/ 'you (pol. sg., pl.) come, (possibly) will come'

/kelar/ '(he) comes, (possibly) will come' /kelarlar/ 'they come, (possibly) will come'

/bilarman/ 'I know, (possibly) will know'
etc.

b. Sometimes after stem ending in a consonant and containing a back vowel:

1st sg. /-ur-man/; 2nd sg. /-ur-san/; 3rd sg. /-ur-ϕ/; 1st pl. /-ur-miz/; 2nd pl. /-ur-siz/; 3rd pl. /-ur-ϕ-lar/:

/bolurman/ 'I am, (possibly) will be, become'
etc.

Note: There are important exceptions, however, to this pattern (3.24.)—e.g. /berur/ '(he) is, (possibly) will be, become'; /korarlar/ 'they see, (possibly) will see'; /bilur/ '(he) knows, (possibly) will know'

c. After stem ending in a vowel:

1st sg. /-r-man/; 2nd sg. /-r-san/; 3rd sg. /-r-ϕ/; 1st pl. /-r-miz/; 2nd pl. /-r-siz/; 3rd pl. /-r-ϕ-lar/:

/sorarman/ 'I ask, (possibly) will ask' /sorarmiz/ 'we ask, (possibly) will ask'
/sorarsan/ 'you ask, (possibly) will ask' /sorarsiz/ 'you (pol. sg., pl.) ask, (possibly) will ask'
/sorar/ '(he) asks, (possibly) will ask' /sorarlar/ 'they ask, (possibly) will ask'

/oqurman/ 'I read, study, (possibly) will read, study'
etc.

Note: Before /-r-/ or /-ma-s-/, the stem /oqi-/ changes to /oqu-/; also /ye-/ 'to eat' and /de-/ 'to say' carry the present-possibilitative future morpheme mainly in conjunction with the negative morpheme. Most often for habitual present or future meaning, /ye-/ and /de-/ combine with the ordinary present-future: /yeyman/ 'I eat, will eat,' etc.

d. With the negative morpheme:

1st sg. /-ma-s-man/; 2nd sg. /-ma-s-san/; 3rd sg. /-ma-s-ϕ/; etc.

/sozlamasman/ 'I don't speak, (possibly) won't speak'
/sozlamassan/ 'you don't speak, (possibly) won't speak'
/sozlamas/ '(he) doesn't speak, (possibly) won't speak'
/sozlamasmiz/ 'we don't speak, (possibly) won't speak'
/sozlamassiz/ 'you (pol. sg., pl.) don't speak, (possibly) won't speak'
/sozlamaslar/ 'they don't speak, (possibly) won't speak'

/oqumasman/ 'I don't read, study; (possibly) won't read, study'
etc.

/yemasman/ 'I don't eat, (possibly) won't eat'

e. With the interrogative particle:

1st sg. /-r-man-mi/; 2nd sg. /-r-san-mi/; 3rd sg. /-r-ϕ-mi/; etc.

/oqurmammi/ 'do I read, study? will I (possibly) read, study?'
/oqursammi/ 'do you read, study? will you (possibly) read, study?'
/oqurmi/ 'does (he) read, study? will (he) (possibly) read, study?'
etc.

Note: Especially polite or hesitant questions are often formed by combining the present-possibilitative future morpheme with the interrogative particle. /bilarmisiz/ 'do you (pol. sg., pl.) (possibly) know?'

f. As verbal noun:

/emasligini/ 'its not-being (acc.)'; /bilar bilmas/ 'knowing and not knowing'; /keltirmasimdan/ 'from my not

bringing'; /bilmaslik/ 'ignorance (not-knowing)'; /yɔzarini bilmadim/ 'I didn't know what to write'

Note: This formant, attached to the negative stem /e-ma-/ 'not to be,' plays a highly important role in equational clauses and in compound verbal constructions (8.2222., 6.3822).

g. As verbal adjective:

/olur ɔdam/ 'the man who will die'; /biznɨŋ turar ǰɔyimiz/ 'the place where we live'; /berur kun/ 'the day when (I, you, he, etc.) possibly will be able to give'

6. Present progressive: Unlike /-a-yɔtir- ~ -ϕ-yɔtir-/, which indicates action at the present moment but not extending over a considerable period of time, the present progressive formant /-mɔqta-/ denotes action in the present which began some time in the past, is occurring in the present, and presumably will continue for some time in the future.

a. After stem ending in a consonant:

1st sg. /-mɔqta-man/; 2nd sg. /-mɔqta-san/; 3rd sg. /-mɔqta-ϕ/; 1st pl. /-mɔqta-miz/; 2nd pl. /-mɔqta-siz/; 3rd pl. /-mɔqta-ϕ-lar/:

/yɔzmɔqtaman/ 'I am (in the process of) writing'	/yɔzmɔqtamiz/ 'we are (in the process of) writing'
/yɔzmɔqtasan/ 'you are (in the process of) writing'	/yɔzmɔqtasiz/ 'you (pol. sg., pl.) are (in the process of) writing'
/yɔzmɔqta/ '(he) is (in the process of) writing'	/yɔzmɔqtalar/ 'they are (in the process of) writing'

b. After stem ending in a vowel:

1st sg. /-mɔqta-man/; 2nd sg. /-mɔqta-san/; 3rd sg. /-mɔqta-ϕ/; 1st pl. /-mɔqta-miz/; 2nd pl. /-mɔqta-siz/; 3rd pl. /-mɔqta-ϕ-lar/:

/oqimɔqtaman/ 'I am (in the process of) reading, studying'	/oqimɔqtamiz/ 'we are (in the process of) reading, studying'

/oqimɔqtasan/ 'you are (in the process of) reading, studying'

/oqimɔqtasiz/ 'you (pol. sg., pl.) are (in the process of) reading, studying'

/oqimɔqta/ '(he) is (in the process of) reading, studying'

/oqimɔqtalar/ 'they are (in the process of) reading, studying'

c. With the interrogative particle:

1st sg. /-mɔqta-man-mi/; 2nd sg. /-mɔqta-san-mi/; 3rd sg. /-mɔqta-ϕ-mi/; etc.

/oğrimɔqtami/ 'does it hurt? (lit. is-it-hurting?)' etc.

/išlamɔqtamisiz/ 'are you (pol. sg., pl.) (in the process of) working?' etc.

d. As verbal noun: /-mɔqta/, as a verbal noun formant, is found only in compound verbal constructions (6.382.).

7. Intended future.

a. After stem ending in a consonant:

1st sg. /-mɔqči-man/; 2nd sg. /-mɔqči-san/; 3rd sg. /-mɔqči-ϕ/; 1st pl. /-mɔqči-miz/; 2nd pl. /-mɔqči-siz/; 3rd pl. /-mɔqči-ϕ-lar/:

/yɔzmɔqčiman/ 'I will write (intend to write)'

/yɔzmɔqčimiz/ 'we will write (intend to write)'

/yɔzmɔqčisan/ 'you will write (intend to write)'

/yɔzmɔqčisiz/ 'you (pol. sg., pl.) will write (intend to write)'

/yɔzmɔqči/ '(he) will write (intends to write)'

/yɔzmɔqčilar/ 'they will write (intend to write'

b. After stem ending in a vowel:

1st sg. /-mɔqči-man/; 2nd sg. /-mɔqči-san/; 3rd sg. /-mɔqči-ϕ/; 1st pl. /-mɔqči-miz/; 2nd pl. /-mɔqči-siz/; 3rd pl. /-mɔqči-ϕ-lar/:

/oqimɔqčiman/ 'I will read, study (intend to read, study)'
/oqimɔqčimiz/ 'we will read, study (intend to read, study)'
/oqimɔqčisan/ 'you will read, study (intend to read, study)'
/oqimɔqčisiz/ 'you (pol. sg., pl.) will read, study (intend to read, study)'
/oqimɔqči/ '(he) will read, study (intends to read, study)'
/oqimɔqčilar/ 'they will read, study (intend to read, study)'

c. With the negative morpheme:

1st sg. /-ma-mɔqči-man/; 2nd sg. /-ma-mɔqči-san/; 3rd sg. /-ma-mɔqči-ϕ/; 1st pl. /-ma-mɔqči-miz/; 2nd pl. /-ma-mɔqči-siz/; 3rd pl. /-ma-mɔqči-ϕ-lar/:

/bermamɔqčiman/ 'I intend not to give, not giving'; cf. /bermɔqči emasman/ 'I don't intend to give' (6.3822.)
etc.

d. With the interrogative particle:

1st sg. /-mɔqči-man-mi/; 2nd sg. /-mɔqči-san-mi/; 3rd sg. /-mɔqči-ϕ-mi/; etc.

/aytmɔqčisammi/ 'will you (do you intend to) say?'
etc.

e. As verbal noun: /-mɔqči ~ -mɔxči/, as a verbal noun formant, is found only in compound verbal constructions (6.382.). Like some other verbal noun formants, it may acquire the derivational suffix /-lik/, which creates nouns indicating 'state' or 'action'. /soramɔqčiligini bilasan/ 'you know that (he) intends to ask (lit. his-intending-to-ask-acc. you-know)'

B. With personal suffixes set 2:

1. Present-future: Usually this marks the future or the habitual present, though occasionally it denotes the momentary present.

a. After stem ending in a consonant:

1st sg. /-a-man/; 2nd sg. /-a-san/; 3rd sg. /-a-di/; 1st pl. /-a-miz/; 2nd pl. /-a-siz/; 3rd pl. /-a-dilar/:

/kelaman/ 'I come, will come'	/kelamiz/ 'we come, will come'
/kelasan/ 'you come, will come'	/kelasiz/ 'you (pol. sg., pl.) come, will come'
/keladi/ '(he) comes, will come'	/keladilar/ 'they come, will come'

b. After stem ending in a vowel:

1st sg. /-y-man/; 2nd sg. /-y-san/; 3rd sg. /-y-di/; 1st pl. /-y-miz/; 2nd pl. /-y-siz/; 3rd pl. /-y-dilar/:

/soraymaŋ/ 'I ask, will ask'	/soraymiz/ 'we ask, will ask'
/soraysan/ 'you ask, will ask'	/soraysiz/ 'you (pol. sg., pl.) ask, will ask'
/soraydi/ '(he) asks, will ask'	/soraydilar/ 'they ask, will ask'

/oqiyman/ 'I read, study; will read, study'
/oqiysan/ 'you read, study; will read, study'
/oqiydi/ '(he) reads, studies; will read, study'
etc.

/yeyman/ 'I eat, will eat'
/yeysan/ 'you eat, will eat'
/yeydi ~ yiydi/ '(he) eats, will eat'
etc.

Note: In colloquial speech the verbal stem /ye-/ appears as /yiy-/ or /iy-/ before this and some other tense-mode-aspect formants, in which case it carries the allomorph /-a-/ of the present-future formant: /yiyadi(r) ~ iyadi(r)/ '(he) eats, will eat'

c. The /-ϕ-/ allomorph appears after a stem ending in a consonant and preceding the tense formant /-aǰak- ~ -aǰag-/ (A.4.), and after a stem ending in a vowel and before the aspect formant /-yɔtir- ~ -yɔt-/ (A.2.).

d. With the negative morpheme:

1st sg. /-ma-y-man/; 2nd sg. /-ma-y-san/; 3rd sg. /-ma-y-di/; 1st pl. /-ma-y-miz/; 2nd pl. /-ma-y-siz/; 3rd pl. /-ma-y-dilar/:

/išlamayman/ 'I don't work, won't work'
/išlamaysan/ 'you don't work, won't work'
/išlamaydi/ '(he) doesn't work, won't work'
etc.

/oqimayman ~ oqumayman/ 'I don't read, study; won't read, study'
/oqimaysan ~ oqumaysan/ 'you don't read, study; won't read, study'
/oqimaydi ~ oqumaydi/ '(he) doesn't read, study; won't read, study'
etc.

e. With the interrogative particle:

1st sg. /-a-man-mi ~ -y-man-mi/; 2nd sg. /-a-san-mi ~ -y-san-mi/; 3rd sg. /-a-di-mi ~ -y-di-mi-/; etc.

/ɔlamammi/ 'do I take, receive? will (shall) I take, receive?'
/ɔlasammi/ 'do you take, receive? will you take, receive?'
/ɔladimi/ 'does (he) take, receive? will (he) take, receive?'
etc.

/deymammi/ 'do I say? will (shall) I say?'
/deysammi/ 'do you say? will you say?'
/deydimi/ 'will (he) say?'
etc.

Note: The present-future formant may also mark the imperative-subjunctive-optative mode. /kečirasiz/ 'please excuse me'; /yeysizmi/ 'do you want to eat?'; /kormaydi(r)mi/ 'doesn't (he) want to see?'; /qaraymiz/ 'let's look!'

f. As imperfective gerund (a coordinate gerund denoting the incompletive aspect): Gerunds, or verbal adverbs, are

constructions that describe the manner in which or the conditions under which the action of the finite verb is accomplished. They function only as predicates of dependent clauses or as attributes of finite verbal constructions. Like other members of the adverbial class, gerunds take no inflectional suffixes.

The /-ϕ/ allomorph of the imperfective gerund occurs in compounds: after a stem with final consonant and before an auxiliary verb beginning in a vowel (unless plus juncture intervenes), and after a stem with a final vowel and before an auxiliary verb with initial /y/ (6.3823.B.1.).

With allomorph /-a/: /yura kordi/ '(he) tried to walk, move'

With allomorph /-y/: /sozlay bɔšladim/ 'I began to speak, began speaking'; /qilarni bilmay/ 'not knowing what to do'

With allomorph /-ϕ/: /kela ɔlaman ~ kel-ϕ-ɔlaman/ 'I can come'; /kora ɔlmadiŋ ~ kor-ϕ-ɔlmadiŋ/ 'you couldn't see'

2. Narrative (or subjective) past, or unfinished past: also can mark action at a certain moment in the past, and/or action in the past, the consequences of which may still be apparent. However, the verb stems /yɔt- ~ yat-/ 'to lie down'; /tur-/ 'to stand, continue, live'; /otir-/ 'to sit down'; and /yur-/ 'to walk, move,' when they carry the 'narrative past' morpheme, and especially when they also form compounds with gerunds, denote action in the present.

a. After stem ending in a consonant:

1st sg. /-ib-man/; 2nd sg. /-ip-san/; 3rd sg. /-ip-ti/; 1st pl. /-ib-miz/; 2nd pl. /-ip-siz/; 3rd pl. /-ip-tilar/:

/kelibman/ '(they say) I came; I came (at that time)'	/kelibmiz/ '(they say) we came; we came (at that time)'
/kelipsan/ '(they say) you came; you came (at that time)'	/kelipsiz/ '(they say) you (pol. sg., pl.) came; you came (at that time)'

/kelipti/ '(they say) (he) came; (he) came (at that time)'

/keliptilar/ 'they (reportedly) came; they came (at that time)'

b. After stem ending in a vowel:

1st sg. /-b-man/; 2nd sg. /-p-san/; 3rd sg. /-p-ti/; 1st pl. /-b-miz/; 2nd pl. /-p-siz/; 3rd pl. /-p-tilar/:

/išlabman/ '(they say) I worked; I was working (at that time)'
/išlapsan/ '(they say) you worked; you were working (at that time)'
/išlapti/ '(they say) (he) worked; (he) was working (at that time)'
etc.

/oqibman/ '(they say) I read, studied; I was reading, studying (at that time)'
etc.

c. With the negative morpheme:

1st sg. /-ma-b-man/; 2nd sg. /-ma-p-san/; 3rd sg. /-ma-p-ti/; etc.

/yemabman/ '(they say) I didn't write; I wasn't writing (at that time)'
etc.

d. With the interrogative particle:

1st sg. /-ib-man-mi ~ -b-man-mi/; 2nd sg. /-ip-san-mi ~ -p-san-mi/; 3rd sg. /-ip-ti-mi ~ -p-ti-mi/; etc.

/yuribmammi/ 'was I walking (at that time)?'
/yuripsammi/ 'were you walking (at that time)?'
etc.

/debmammi/ 'did I say (at that time)?'
/depsammi/ 'did you say (at that time)?'
etc.

Note: When one-syllable stems ending in /l/ take on /-ip-/ + /-ti/ (3rd person suffix), elision of medial /-li-/

often occurs: /kelipti/ > /kepti/ '(they say) (he) came'; /bolipti/ > /bopti/ '(they say) (he) was, became'; /ɔliptilar/ > /ɔptilar/ 'they took, received (at that time); (it seems) they took, received'

e. As perfective gerund (a coordinate gerund denoting incompletive aspect):

With allomorph /-ib/: /ɔlibberdi/ 'he brought'

With allomorph /-ip/: /čoyni ičip| uyga bɔrdim/ 'having drunk the tea, I went home'; /sɔtib-ɔlip/ 'buying'

With allomorph /-b/: /oylab-yuribman/ 'I am thinking (at this moment)'

With allomorph /-p/: /ɔlip turipti/ '(he) is (just now) taking, receiving'

Note: The perfective gerund formant, combined with one of the auxiliary verbs /yɔt- ~ yat-/, /tur-/, /otir-/, or /yur-/, denotes the momentary present (imperfective aspect): /qilip yuripti/ '(he) is doing (it) (right now)'; /išlap turaman/ 'I am working (right now)'

Also, the perfective gerund morpheme is not normally attached to negative stems. In its place we find the negative imperfective gerund marker or else the negative present-possibilitative future morpheme + the ablative case suffix.

C. With personal suffixes set 3.

1. Conditional mode: Constructions in the conditional mode occur as heads of dependent clauses and thus fill the gerundial slot. The tense-meaning of the conditional sequence is present-future, unless the finite verb of the independent clause indicates past tense. The unreal present-future is denoted if the conditional construction is followed by the preterite in /e-/ (see 1.f. below).

a. After stem with final consonant:

1st sg. /-sa-m/; 2nd sg. /-sa-ŋ/; 3rd sg. /-sa-ϕ/; 1st pl. /-sa-k/; 2nd pl. /-sa-ŋgiz/; 3rd pl. /-sa-ϕ-lar/:

/kelsam/ 'if I come, came; when I come, came'
/kelsak/ 'if we come, came; when we come, came'
/kelsaŋ/ 'if you come, came; when you come, came'
/kelsaŋgiz/ 'if you (pol. sg., pl.) come, came; when you come, came'
/kelsa/ 'if (he) comes, came; when (he) comes, came'
/kelsalar/ 'if they come, came; when they come, came'

b. After stem with final vowel:

1st sg. /-sa-m/; 2nd sg. /-sa-ŋ/; 3rd sg. /-sa-ϕ/; 1st pl. /-sa-k/; 2nd pl. /-sa-ŋgiz/; 3rd pl. /-sa-ϕ-lar/:

/sorasam/ 'if I ask, asked; when I ask, asked'
/sorasak/ 'if we ask, asked; when we ask, asked'
/sorasaŋ/ 'if you ask, asked; when you ask, asked'
/sorasaŋgiz/ 'if you (pol. sg., pl.) ask, asked; when you ask, asked'
/sorasa/ 'if (he) asks, asked; when (he) asks, asked'
/sorasalar/ 'if they ask, asked; when they ask, asked'

/oqisam ~ oqusam/ 'if I read, study; read, studied; when I read, study; read, studied'
etc.

c. With the negative morpheme (relatively little used):

1st sg. /-ma-sa-m/; 2nd sg. /-ma-sa-ŋ/; 3rd sg. /-ma-sa-ϕ/; etc.

/oqumasam/ 'if I don't read, study; didn't read, study; when I don't read, study; didn't read, study'
etc.

d. As finite verb (with the particle /-či/): denotes an emphatic command: /yesaŋči/ 'eat! why don't you eat? (abrupt to one person)'; /desaŋgisči/ 'say (it)! (less abrupt to one person; abrupt to more than one person)'

Note: Occasionally forms in /-sa-/ occur before /ɬ/ without this interrogative particle. This kind of construction indicates a very polite tentative question or request. /bizga bersaŋgizɬ/ 'Would you give (it) to us?'

e. As verbal noun: With personal suffixes and /kerak/ 'necessary' (occasionally /mumkin/ 'possible'), /-sa-/ forms the potential mode (or occasionally the necessitative or suppositional modes). Actually it fills the subject slot in equational clauses, /kerak/ or /mumkin/ the predicate slot. /men qilsam kerak/ 'I may (possibly) do (it)'; /išlasak mumkin emas/ 'we can not work'; /kirsam mumkimmi/ 'should I come in?'; /bersaŋgiz kerak/ 'you (pol. sg., pl.) should give'; /ular kelsa kerak edi/ 'they may have come' (sometimes 'they are supposed to have come'); /yɔssam mumkin/ 'I must write'

f. As gerundial formant: With personal suffixes and followed by the auxiliary in /e-/ or an enclitic particle: /yɔzip tursaŋ-da/ 'even if you continue writing,'; /esa-da/ 'even if (it) is,'; /esam/ 'if I am,'; /bolmasa-ham/ 'if (it) isn't'; /čiqsam edi/ 'if I went out, were to go out,'

2. Preterite tense.

a. After stem ending in a voiced consonant or a vowel:

1st sg. /-di-m/; 2nd sg. /-di-ŋ/; 3rd sg. /-di-ϕ/; 1st pl. /-di-k/; 2nd pl. /-di-ŋgiz/; 3rd pl. /-di-ϕ-lar/:

/keldim/ 'I came'	/keldik/ 'we came'
/keldiŋ/ 'you came'	/keldiŋgiz/ 'you (pol. sg., pl.) came'
/keldi/ '(he) came'	/keldilar/ 'they came'

/oqidim/ 'I read, studied'
etc.

b. After stem ending in a voiceless consonant:

1st sg. /-ti-m/; 2nd sg. /-ti-ŋ/; etc.

/kettim/ 'I went (away)'	/kettik/ 'we went (away)'
/kettiŋ/ 'you went (away)'	/kettiŋgiz/ 'you (pol. sg., pl.) went (away)'
/ketti/ '(he) went (away)'	/kettilar/ 'they went (away)'

D. With personal suffixes set 4:

1. Imperative-subjunctive-optative mode:

a. After stem ending in a consonant:

1st sg. /-ɸ-ay/; 2nd sg. /-ɸ-ɸ/; 3rd sg. /-ɸ-sin/; 1st pl. /-ɸ-aylik/; 2nd pl. /-ɸ-iŋ/, /-ɸ-iŋgiz/; 3rd pl. /-ɸ-sinlar/:

/kelay/ 'let me come; I want to come, must come'	/kelaylik/ 'let us come; we want to come, must come'
/kel/ 'come!'	/keliŋ/ 'come (pol. sg.; sometimes inf. pl.)!'; /keliŋgiz/ 'come (pol. pl.)!'
/kelsin/ 'let (him) come, (he) may come'	/kelsinlar/ 'let them come, they may come'

b. After stem ending in a vowel:

1st sg. /-ɸ-y/; 2nd sg. /-ɸ-ɸ/; 3rd sg. /-ɸ-sin/; 1st pl. /-ɸ-ylik/; 2nd pl. /-ɸ-ŋ/, /-ɸ-ŋgiz/; 3rd pl. /-ɸ-sinlar/:

/soray/ 'let me ask; I want to ask, must ask'	/soraylik/ 'let us ask; we want to ask, must ask'
/sora/ 'ask!'	/soraŋ/ 'ask (pol. sg.; sometimes inf. pl.)!'; /soraŋgiz/ 'ask (pol. pl.)!'

/sorasin/ 'let (him) ask, (he) may ask'

/sorasinlar/ 'let them ask, they may ask'

/oqiy/ 'let me read, study,' etc.
/oqi/ 'read! study!'
/oqisin/ 'let (him) read, study,' etc.
etc.

/dey/ 'let me say; I want to say, must say'

/deylik/ 'let us say; we want to say, must say'

/de/ 'say!'

/deŋ/ 'say (pol. sg., sometimes inf. pl.)!'; /deŋgiz/ 'say (pol. pl.)!'

/desin/ 'let (him) eat,' etc.

/desinlar/ 'let them eat,' etc.

c. With the negative stem:

1st sg. /-ma-ϕ-y/; 2nd sg. /-ma-ϕ-ϕ/; 3rd sg. /-ma-ϕ-sin/; 1st pl. /-ma-ϕ-ylik/; 2nd pl. /-ma-ϕ-ŋ/, /-ma-ϕ-ŋgiz/; 3rd pl. /-ma-ϕ-sinlar/:

/yemay/ 'don't let me eat, may I not eat, I don't want to eat'

/yemaylik/ 'don't let us eat, may we not eat, we don't want to eat'

/yema/ 'don't eat!'

/yemaŋ/ 'don't eat (pol. sg., sometimes inf. pl.)!'; /yemaŋgiz/ 'don't eat (pol. pl.)!'

/yemasin/ 'don't let (him) eat, (he) may not eat'

/yemasinlar/ 'don't let them eat, they may not eat'

d. With the interrogative particle:

1st sg. /-ϕ-ay-mi/; 2nd sg. /-ϕ-ϕ-mi/; 3rd sg. /-ϕ-sin-mi/; 1st pl. /-ϕ-aylik-mi/; 2nd pl. /-ϕ-iŋ-mi/, /-ϕ-ŋgiz-mi/; 3rd pl. /-ϕ-sinlar-mi/

6.34. Miscellaneous verbal constructions.

A little-used finite verb construction is that formed by the future tense morpheme /-gu- ~ -gi- ~ -ğu- ~ -ku- ~ -qu-/ + the possessive suffixes that normally are attached to nouns (and verbal nouns). The copula particle sometimes follows: /korgim(dir)/ 'I shall see'; /bɔrgiŋ/ 'you will go'; /išlagisi/ '(he) will work'; /bolgumiz(dir)/ 'we shall be, become'; /yegim/ 'I shall eat'; /qilğuŋgiz/ 'you (pol. sg., pl.) will do'; /tɔpqusi(dir)/ 'they will find'

Some constructions in the third person function as adjectives: /kelgusi hapta/ 'the coming week'

This formant also creates verbal nouns that combine with /kel-/ 'to come' or with /bɔr/ 'existent' or /yoq/ 'non-existent.' The resulting construction is in the optative mode. /kelgum kelmaydi/ 'I don't want to come'; /korgum keladi/ 'I'd like to see'; /qilğusi keldi/ '(he) wanted to do'; /kirgimiz yoq/ 'we don't want to enter'; /yɔzğuŋ bɔrmi/ 'do you want to write?' Note that the constructions with /bɔr/ or /yoq/ are structurally analogous to those created from verbal nouns in /-gan ~ -kan ~ -qan/: /yɔzganim yoq/ 'I didn't write'; /ɔlganim bɔr/ 'I have taken, received'

The potential mode, we earlier indicated, is formed by combining a verbal noun in /-sa-/ (+ personal suffixes set 3) with /kerak/ or /mumkin/. The necessitative mode is expressed by an equational clause in which the subject is 1. a deverbal noun in /-iš ~ -š/, /-uw ~ -w/, or /-mɔq/ + the nominal possessive suffixes (though the 3rd person ending is often /-ϕ/) or 2. a verbal noun with the derivational suffix /-lik/, and in which the predicate is the adjective /kerak/ 'necessary,' or sometimes /mumkin/ 'possible.' /sorašim kerak/ 'I must ask (lit. my-asking is-necessary)'; /yɔziš kerak emas/ '(he) doesn't, didn't have to write'; /tolaš kerak boladi/ 'it will be necessary to pay'; /nima qilmaslik kerak/ 'what must not be done?'; /biluwmiz mumkin/ 'we must know'

Note: Occasionally constructions in the necessitative mode can function as modifiers in noun phrases: /yɔziši kerak bolgan kitɔbim/ 'the book that I must write'

A rarely used optative mode formant is /-ğay- ~ -gay- ~ -kay- ~ -qay-/, which takes personal suffixes set 1. /qilğaymiz/ 'we would like to do'; /bolmağaysan/ 'you wouldn't like to be, become'; /ketkayman/ 'I want to leave (go away)'

Some strictly gerundial formants are /-gunča ~ -kunča ~ -qunča/: /men korgunča/ 'until I saw,'; /-gač ~ -kač ~ -qač/: /u čiqqač/ 'just as (he) went out,'; /kormagač/ 'when (he) didn't see (it),'; /biz sɔtkač/ 'the moment we sold (it),'; /-gali ~ -kali ~ -qali/, or /-gani/ (after stem containing /l/ or /r/): /men soragani| keldi/ 'I came (in order) to ask'; /yɔzgali/ 'in order to write,'; /čiqqali/ 'in order to go out,'

6.35. Regular auxiliary verbs.

Certain regular verbs combine with verbal nouns or gerunds to form compounds. In frequent use are /bol- ~ bul-/ 'to be, become'; /ɔl-/ 'to take, receive'; /yɔt- ~ yat-/ 'to lie down'; /tur-/ 'to stand, continue, live'; /otir-/ 'to sit down'; /yur-/ 'to walk, move'; /qɔl- ~ qal-/ 'to stay, remain'; /ber-/ 'to give'; /kel-/ 'to come'; /bɔšla-/ 'to begin'; /bɔr-/ 'to go'; /čiq-/ 'to go out, come out'; and others.

6.36. The Defective auxiliary verb /e-/.

/e-/ 'to be' takes only a few of the tense-mode-aspect formants discussed in the preceding sections. These are: the conditional mode formant /-sa-/, the preterite tense formant /-di-/, and the negative present-possibilitative future formant /-mas-/. /emas/ also occurs as a verbal noun, without personal suffixes, before a finite auxiliary verb.

/e-/ acquires some unique formants as well. /-miš-/ and /-kan-/ 'narrative or quotative mode,' often also 'past tense' (especially after a verbal noun), take personal suffixes set 1. Another formant, /-rur/ 'present-possibilitative future' finds very restricted usage.(Actually, /*er-/ + /-ur/.)

/esam ~ isam/ 'if I am,'; /biz kasal edik/ 'we were sick'; /sen bilmas emišsan/ '(they say) you don't know'; /u tayyɔr emiš/ '(they say) (he) is ready'; /otkazgan emiš ~ otkazganmiš/ '(they say) (he) led, has led'; /sen xursant emas emiš ~ sen xursant emasmiš/ 'you (apparently) aren't

(weren't) happy'; /ɔčilar ekan/ 'it (apparently) will be revealed'; /binɔlar bant ekanlar/ '(they say) the buildings are tall'; /kim erur ul/ 'who is he?'; /bɔr ekan/ '(apparently) there is, there are'

Note: The sequence /esa/ is also a conjunction signifying 'as for, the same with, also.' And /ekan/ has a clitic variant /-kan ~ -kin/, which is added to the interrogative particle /-mi/ to indicate doubt or a tentative, or hesitant, request. /aytkanmikin/ 'did (he) (really) say (that)?'; /kelasizmikin/ 'will you (pol. sg., pl.) (by any chance) come?' Finally, /ekan/, as a verbal noun, may take the suffix /-lik/: /ekanligini/ 'its existence (acc.)'

Some other constructions with /e-/:

/u išladi| men esa oqidim/ '(he) worked, but I read, studied'; /men tortinči sinfta oqiyman| latif esa/ 'I am in the fourth grade; the same with Latif'; /sɔat tortta ɔğam ištan keladi| ɔtam esa ištan sɔat bešta keladi/ 'my older brother comes (home) from work at four o'clock. As for my father, he comes at five o'clock'; /u kelgan esada/ 'even if (he) came'; /yoq-esa ~ yoqsa/ 'otherwise'; /emas/ '(it) is not'; /emasman/ 'I am not'; /emas edim/ 'I was not'; /emas ekanmiz/ 'we (apparently) were not, hadn't been'; /kasal ekan ediŋ/ 'you seem to have been sick'

6.37. Non-verbal predications.

A noun (but not a verbal noun), pronoun, adjective, or adverb can function as the head of the predicate of an equational clause.

/ular dehqɔn ~ ular dehqɔnlar ~ dehqɔndirlar/ 'they are peasants'; /bu| istɔldir/ 'this is a table'; /siyɔh qɔradir/ 'the ink is black'; /bizlar muallim/ 'we are teachers'; /ɔnam taškentta/ 'my mother is in Tashkent'; /uzbekistɔn haqindadir/ 'it is about (concerns) Uzbekistan'; /muhim narsa yemɔqtir/ 'it is necessary to eat'; /bu qɔğɔz ɔq/ 'this paper is white'; /qalam ortɔğimdadir/ 'my friend has the pencil (lit. pencil is-with-my-friend)'

6.371. Negative non-verbal predications are created by inserting the verbal noun /emas/ 'not being' after the head of the predicate of the equational clause and before the copula particle and personal predicative particle.

The following are the main syntactic slots into which fall the chief components of clauses with a non-verb as head.

1 Subject (optional)	2 Head of predicate (non-verb)	3 Negative verbal noun in /e-/	4 Copula particle (optional)	5 Personal pred. pcl. (optional)	
men	student	emas	-dur	-man	
	askarda		-dir		
siz	muallim	emas			-mi
oquwčilar	bɔr		-dir		
men korganim	yoq				
sen	kim			-san	
yemoq istamasam	kerak				
sɔtuwči	u		-dir		

/men student emasdurman/ 'I am not a student!'; /askardadir/ '(he) is in the army'; /siz muallim emasmi/ 'aren't you (pol. sg.) a teacher?'; /oquwčilar bɔrdir/ 'there are students'; /men korganim yoq/ 'I didn't see'; /sen kimsan/ 'who are you?'; /yemoq istamasam kerak/ 'I may not want to eat'; /sɔtuwči udir/ 'the merchant is he (that one)'

6.38. Verbal predications.

6.381. Equational clauses.

The foregoing equational constructions (6.37.) are in the present tense. The addition of the auxiliary verbs /bol- ~ bul-/ or /e-/ creates equational constructions in other tenses and results in verbal predications. The

auxiliary verb appears in slot number 4, replacing the optional copula particle. /emas/ occurs only before /e-/ in verbal predications with an auxiliary verb.

1 Subject (optional)	2 Head of predicate (non-verb)	3 Negative verbal noun in /e-/	4 Finite verb in /e-/ or /bol-/	5 Personal suffix
u	išči	emas	emiš-	-ϕ
bɔla	yaxši		ekan-	-ϕ
	studentlar		edi-	-ϕ-lar
bizlar	yɔzuwči	emas	edi-	-k
siz keča	yoq		ekan-	-siz
yɔzuw	zerur	emas	edi-	-ϕ
	bɔr		ekan-	-ϕ
men kelišim	kerak		edi-	-ϕ
siz	xursant		bola-	-siz
men	oquwči		bolgan-	-man

/u išči emas emiš/ '(he) was (is) not a worker (apparently)'; /bɔla yaxši ekan/ '(I heard that) the child is (was) good'; /studentlar edilar/ 'they were students'; /bizlar yɔzuwči emas edik/ 'we were not writers'; /siz keča yoq ekansiz/ 'you (pol. sg., pl.) (it seems) weren't (there) last night'; /yɔzuw zerur emas edi/ '(the) writing was not necessary'; /bɔr ekan/ 'there (apparently) is (lit. existent it-apparently-is)'; /men kelišim kerak edi/ 'I should have come (lit. my coming necessary was)'; /siz xursant bolasiz/ 'you (pol. sg., pl.) will be happy'; /men oquwči bolganman/ 'I have been a student'

6.382. Compound verbal constructions.

In Chapter 5, "Derivation," we discussed verbal compounds formed by combining certain nouns or adverbs with verb stems. Here we take up those compound verbal constructions formed by adding the copula particle or the negative verbal noun /emas/ to certain verbal nouns and

gerunds, or by combining verbal nouns and gerunds with auxiliary verbs.

6.3821. Compounds with the copula particle.

Here the copula particle serves sometimes as an aspect marker (progressive or durative), sometimes as a mode marker (either dubitative or the converse: affirmative of what may be doubtful or suppositional). But in some constructions it may carry no special meaning. The copula particle and the personal predicative particle are here obligatory rather than optional. They may be appended to positive or negative verbal nouns, with the result that /emas/ 'not being' is rarely encountered. (The verbal formant /-gu- ~ -gi-/, etc. takes possessive suffixes rather than the personal predicative particles.)

1 Subject (optional)	2 Head of predicate (verbal nou or gerund)	3	4 Copula particle	5 Personal pred. pcl.	
men	yɔzgan-		-dur-	-man	
ular	yɔzmagan-		-dur-	-ϕ-lar	
	oqiyaǰak-		-tir-	-san	-mi
	sorar-		-dir-	-man	
	bilur-		-dir-	-ϕ	
	kelmɔqta-		-dur-	-man	
biz	qila-		-dir-	-miz	
sen	sozlay-		-dur-	-san	
	soramay		-dur-	-man	
	yɔzğu-m-		-dir-		

/men yɔzgandurman/ 'I was (definitely) writing'; /ular yɔzmagandurlar/ 'they (probably) didn't write'; /oqiyaǰaktirsammi/ 'will you be (in the process of) writing?'; /sorardirman/ 'I'll ask (possibly)'; /bilurdir/ '(he) will (possibly) know'; /kelmɔqtadurman/ 'I am (in the process of) coming'; /biz qiladirmiz/ 'we are doing (continuing to do)'; /sen sozlaydursan/ 'you are (in the process of)

speaking'; /soramaydurman/ 'I am not (in the process of) asking'; /yɔzğumdir/ 'I shall write'

6.3822. Compounds with /emas/.

Negative constructions may be formed by combining certain verbal nouns with the special negative verbal noun in /e-/. In most cases the resulting compounds alternate with the corresponding finite verbs formed from negative stems. E.g. /men yɔzgan emasman ~ men yɔzmaganman/ 'I didn't write (haven't written).' In the case of /-mɔqči-/, however, the construction with /emas/ differs slightly in meaning from that without /emas/. See below. Also, note that, unlike the situation for negative non-verbal predications (6.371.), slot number 4 is not filled.

1	2	3	4	5
Subject (optional)	Head of predicate (verbal noun)	Negative verbal noun in /e-/		Personal pred. pcl.
men	yurgan	emas		-man
	qilar	emas		-miz
u	yɔzmɔqta	emas		-ϕ
	yurmɔqči	emas		-ϕ-lar

/men yurgan emasman/ 'I didn't walk, haven't walked'; /qilar emasmiz/ 'we will not (would not) do'; /u yɔzmɔqta emas/ '(he) is not writing'; /yurmɔqči emaslar/ 'they don't intend to walk,' cf. /yurmamɔqčilar/ 'they intend not to walk'

6.3823. Compounds with auxiliary verbs.

A. The verbal nouns described under section 6.33A., B. combine with /bol- ~ bul-/ or /e-/ to form compound verbal constructions. The verbal noun in /-sa-/ (6.33.C.1.) combines with the auxiliary /e-/, but it, rather than the auxiliary, carries the personal suffixes.

1 Subject (optional)	2 Head of predicate (verbal noun)	3 Negative verbal noun in /e-/	4 Auxiliary verb	5 Personal suffix
u	uxlagan	emas	edi-	-ϕ
biz	ketkan		boldi-	-k
men	yɔzmɔqta		bola-	-man
men	yɔzmasa-m		edi-	-ϕ
	qilar		emiš-	-san

/u uxlagan emas edi/ '(he) has not (had not) slept'; /biz ketkan boldik/ 'we have left (gone away)'; /men yɔzmɔqta bolaman/ 'I will be writing'; /men yɔzmasam edi/ 'if I didn't write, were not to write,'; /qilar emišsan/ 'you (it seems) would do (it)'

1. We illustrate some of the compound verbal constructions formed with verbal nouns:

1. /-gan ~ -kan ~ -qan/: /yegan boladi/ '(he) has already eaten'; /yegan boldik/ 'we had already eaten'; /u kelganida| men yegan bolaman/ 'by the time he arrives I will have eaten'; /soragan bularman/ 'I would have asked'; /ketkan ekan/ '(he) (apparently) left (went away)'; /bulmagan edilar ~ bulgan emas edilar/ 'they were not, had not been, had not become'; /yašamagan ediŋ/ 'you haven't lived, hadn't lived'; /korgan bolsam kerak edi/ 'I might have seen (it)'

2. /-ayɔtkan ~ -ϕ-yɔtkan ~ -ayɔtir ~ -ϕ-yɔtir/: /išlayɔtkan bolsa/ 'if (he) is working (at a certain time)'; /oqimayɔtkan boldik/ 'we were reading, studying (at that time)'; /gapirayɔtkan edimmi ~ gapirayɔtkandimmi/ 'was I talking (at that moment)?'; /yašayɔtir edi ~ yašayɔtirdi/ '(he) was living (at that time)'; /uxlayɔtkan ekansan/ 'you were (apparently) sleeping (at that time)'

3. /-adigan ~ -ydigan/: /qɔladigan edim/ 'I had to stay'; /soraydigan boldiŋ/ 'you were continuing to ask'; /gapirmaydigan boldilar/ 'they stopped talking'

4. /-ar ~ -ur ~ -r ~ -s/: /išlar wa uxlardim/ 'I used to work and sleep, would work and sleep'; /bilmas edilar ~ bilmastilar/ 'they didn't use to know'; /čiqmas ediŋ ~

čiqmastiŋ/ 'you wouldn't have gone out'; /yɔzar ekanlar/ '(I heard that) they were writing'; /etmas ekan/ '(it seems that) (he) hasn't said'; /sɔtar emiš ~ sɔtarmiš/ '(he) (apparently) would, used to sell'; /yɔzar bolsam/ 'if I write (in the future),'

5. /-mɔqta/ : /urganmɔqta edik/ 'we were (in the process of) learning'; /etmɔqta boldim/ 'I was (in the process of) saying'; /oylamɔqta emas edim/ 'I was not thinking'; /oquwči bolmɔqta edilar/ 'they used to be students'

Note: Verbal nouns in /-mɔqta/ occasionally combine with auxiliary verbs other than /bol- ~ bul-/ and /e-/--e.g. /yɔzmɔqta qoygan edi/ '(he) has been, had been writing'; /kelmɔqta yɔtibman ~ kelmɔqta yɔtirman/ 'I am (in the process of) coming'

6. /-mɔqči ~ -mɔxči/: /kirmɔqči boldik/ 'we were intending to enter'; /sozlamɔqči bolgan edim/ 'I had decided to say, speak'; /qaramɔqči ekansan/ 'you (apparently) intended to look'; /qɔlmɔqči emas edim/ 'I didn't intend to stay, remain'

7. /-sa-/: /yubɔrsaŋ boladi/ 'if you will send,', /bolsa edi/ 'if (it) were,'; /korsalar edi/ 'if they were to see,'; /čiqmasam edi/ 'if I didn't go out, were not to go out,'

8. Occasionally, a verbal noun with the optative mode formant (6.34.) is combined with an auxiliary verb: /yɔzgay edim/ 'I wanted to write'. Also, the following gerundial construction: /yeganda edim/ 'if I were to eat.'

Note: The auxiliary /bol- ~ bul-/, after certain verbal nouns, may itself acquire the auxiliary /e-/--in which case it becomes a verbal noun: /sewgan bolar edim/ 'I would have loved', cf. /sewgan bolaman/ 'I will have loved'; /korgan bolsam edi/ 'if I had seen,'

B. The imperfective and perfective gerunds combine with auxiliary verbs to form compounds. But unlike verbal nouns, which generally combine only with /bol- ~ bul-/ or /e-/, these two gerunds form compounds with a wide variety

of verbs--with this exception: the imperfective gerund is not directly conjoined to a finite verb in /e-/ or with the negative verbal noun /emas/. It may precede a negative verbal noun in /ɔl-/ or it may carry the negative morpheme itself. On the other hand, the perfective gerund does not carry the negative morpheme and it can combine with /emas/. The perfective gerund may also be replaced by the sequence /-mastan/.

1 Subject (optional)	2 Gerund	3 Negative verbal noun in /e-/	4 Auxiliary verb	5 Personal suffix
	bera		ɔlmay-	-man
	soray		ɔlmas-	-san
u	gapirmay		bɔšladi-	-ϕ
men	organa		bɔrmɔqči-	-man
sen	kulip	emas	edi-	-ŋ
u	qarap		turip-	-ti
	ičmastan		otirdi-	-ϕ-lar

/bera ɔlmayman/ 'I am not able to give'; /soray ɔlmassan/ 'you can't ask'; /u gapirmay bɔšladi/ '(he) stopped talking'; /men organa bɔrmɔqčiman/ 'I am continuing to learn'; /sen kulip emas ediŋ/ '(apparently) you weren't laughing'; /u qarap turipti/ '(he) is looking (just now)'; /ičmastan otirdilar/ 'they continued not drinking, without drinking'

1. /-a ~ -y ~ -ϕ/: In most instances where the imperfective gerund forms compound constructions with finite verbs, the meaning of the verb stem underlying this gerund is retained; and the auxiliary verb, though it usually loses its original meaning, normally adds to the gerund only the notion of aspect or of mode. The result is not a true blend with a new meaning as is usually the case with compounds formed with the perfective gerund (see B. 2. below.)

a. /-a ~ -y ~ -ϕ/ + /ɔl-/ 'to take, receive' > possibilitative mode (physical possibility). In rapid speech /-a/ + /ɔl-/ > /-ϕ-ɔl-/, sometimes /-awɔl-/ (3.222.).

/kora ɔl-/ > /korɔl-/ 'to be able to see': /kora/ 'seeing'; /bera ɔl-/ > /berawɔl-/ 'to be able to give': /bera/ 'giving'; /yey ɔl- ~ yiya ɔl-/ 'to be able to eat': /yey ~ yiya/ 'eating'

b. /-a ~ -y ~ -ϕ/ + /ɔlma-/ 'not to take, receive' > impossibilitative mode (physical impossibility).

/yura ɔlma-/ 'not to be able to walk, move': /yura/ 'walking, moving'

In verbal noun and participial constructions: /qilɔlganim yoq/ 'I wasn't, haven't been able to do (lit. my-having-been-able-to-do is-non-existent)': /sozlay ɔlmayɔtkan kši/ 'the (a) man who is unable to speak (lit. not-being-able to-speak man)'. But /ɔlmayɔtkan kši/ 'the (a) man who can't take, receive'

c. /-a ~ -y ~ -ϕ/ + /ber-/ 'to give' > continuative aspect; forms in the abrupt imperative may also indicate immediate action. In colloquial speech /-a/ + /ber-/ > /-awur-/ (2.321.).

/otira ber-/ 'to continue sitting': /otira/ 'sitting'; /qaray ber-/ 'to continue looking': /qaray/ 'looking'; /keta ber/ > /ketawur/ 'keep going; go (quickly)!': /keta/ 'leaving (going away)'

d. /-a ~ -y ~ -ϕ/ + /bɔšla-/ 'to begin' > inchoative aspect.

/oqiy bɔšla-/ 'to begin reading, studying': /oqiy/ 'reading, studying'

e. /-may/ + /bɔšla-/ 'to begin' > cessative aspect.

/oqumay bɔšla-/ 'to stop reading, studying': /oqumay/ 'not reading, studying'

f. /-a ~ -y ~ -ϕ/ + /qɔl-/ 'to stay, remain' > emphatic mode (generally used in imperative only).

/qaray qɔl/ 'look!': /qaray/ 'looking'; /ayta qɔl/ 'say (it)!': /ayta/ 'saying'; /čiqa qɔlsin/ 'let him go out!': /čiqa/ 'going out'; /keta qɔlsaŋ/ 'if you leave (go away),': /keta/ 'leaving, going away'

g. /-may/ + /qɔl-/ 'to stay, remain' > impossibilitative mode (physical inability).

/čiqmay qɔl-/ 'not to be able to go out': /čiqmay/ 'not going out'

h. /-a ~ -y ~ -ϕ/ + /bil-/ 'to know' > possibilitative mode (ability).

/bola bil-/ 'to be able (know how) to be, become': /bola/ 'being, becoming'; /qila bilasa kerak edi/ '(he) may have been able, possibly was able to do'

i. /-a ~ -y ~ -ϕ/ + /kor-/ 'to see' > tentative mode.

/eta kor-/ 'to try to say': /eta/ 'saying'

j. /-a ~ -y ~ -ϕ/ + /qoy-/ 'to put, place' > emphatic mode or completive aspect (generally used in imperative only).

/soray qoy/ 'ask!': /soray/ 'asking'

k. /-may/ + /tur-/ 'to stand, continue, live', /otir-/ 'to sit down', or /yur-/ 'to walk, move' > continuative aspect.

/sozlamay otir-/ 'to continue not speaking': /sozlamay/ 'not speaking'

l. /-a ~ -y ~ -ϕ/ + /yɔt- ~ yat-/ 'to lie down' > continuative or progressive aspect.

In colloquial speech, the imperfective gerund + a finite verb consisting of /yɔt- ~ yat-/ in the narrative past (6.33.B.2.) may coalesce to form /-yap-/: /-a yɔtip- ~ -y yɔtip- ~ -ϕ yɔtip-/ > /-a-yap- ~ -yap-/. (Note: Final /p/ is retained before voiced consonants.)

/korgaza yɔtipti/ > /korgazyapti/ '(he) is showing'; /išlay yɔtibman/ > /išlayapman/ 'I am (in the process of) working'; /yɔzma-ϕ-yɔtibmiz/ > /yɔzmayapmiz/ 'we are (in the process of) writing'; /bu iš oxšamayapti/ 'this work isn't going well'

/u gazeta oqiyapti/ '(he) is reading a newspaper'

2. /-ib ~ -ip ~ -b ~ -p/: Compounds of the perfective gerund and an auxiliary verb often carry a meaning different from that of the two components occurring separately. In many cases, however, the auxiliary verb actually adds to the action expressed by the gerund the notion of direction--e.g. to or away from the subject of action. In still other instances the auxiliary adds the notion of mode or aspect.

a. /-ib ~ -ip ~ -b ~ -p/ + /kel-/ 'to come'

/ɔlip kel-/ 'to bring': /ɔlip/ 'taking'; /qaytip kel-/ 'to return (come back)': /qaytip/ 'turning, returning'; /učip kel-/ 'to fly at, towards': /učip/ 'flying'

Note: Participles may be formed from the compound /učip kel-/: /učip kelgan quš/ 'the bird which flies, flew toward'

b. /-ib ~ -ip ~ -b ~ -p/ + /ket-/ 'to leave (go away)'

/ɔlip ket-/ 'to carry away': /ɔlip/ 'taking'; /čɔpip ket-/ 'to run away': /čɔpip/ 'running'; /urilip ket-/ 'to be dismissed (discharged from duty)': /urilip/ 'being struck'; /učip ket-/ 'to fly away': /učip/ 'flying'

Note: Participles may be formed from the compound /učip ket-/: /učip ketayɔtkan qušlar/ 'the birds which are flying away'

c. /-ib ~ -ip ~ -b ~ -p/ + /ɔl-/ 'to take, receive': /-ib/, /-b/, which occur in close juncture with /ɔl-/, may become /-w/ in colloquial speech (cf. 2.321.).

/yɔzip ɔl-/ > /yɔzibɔl-/ > /yɔzwɔl-/ 'to write down (for oneself)': /yɔzip/ 'writing'; /tɔpip ɔl-/ 'to find (for oneself)': /tɔpip/ 'finding'; /yep ɔl-/ 'to eat up': /yep/ 'eating'; /sɔtip ɔl-/ 'to buy': /sɔtip/ 'selling'; /sozlašip ɔl-/ 'to begin conversing': /sozlašip/ 'conversing'; /otip ɔl-/ 'to pass over, cross': /otip/ 'passing'

d. /-ib ~ -ip ~ -b ~ -p/ + /ber-/ 'to give'

/aytip ber-/ 'to tell': /aytip/ 'saying'; /tɔpip ber-/ 'to find out (for somebody else)': /tɔpip/ 'finding'; /ɔlip ber-/ 'to bring': /ɔlip/ 'taking'; /sozlap ber-/ 'to talk about': /sozlap/ 'speaking'; /qaytip ber-/ 'to return (give back)': /qaytip/ 'turning, returning'; /yɔzip ber-/ 'to write (to someone)': /yɔzip/ 'writing'

e. /-ib ~ -ip ~ -b ~ -p/ + /yubɔr-/ 'to send': /-ib ~ -b/ in close juncture with /yubɔr-/ may become /-wɔr-/ in colloquial speech.

/berip yubɔr-/ > /berwɔr-/ 'to give back': /berip/ 'giving'; /ɔtip yubɔr-/ > /ɔtwɔr-/ 'to shoot': /ɔtip/ 'throwing'

f. /-ib ~ -ip ~ -b ~ -p/ + /qɔl- ~ qal-/ 'to remain, stay' > unexpected or completed action.

/kelip qɔl-/ 'to arrive (suddenly or unexpectedly)': /kelip/ 'coming'; /olip qɔl-/ 'to drop dead': /olip/ 'dying'; /yɔzip qɔl-/ 'to have already written': /yɔzip/ 'writing'

g. /-ib ~ -ip ~ -b ~ -p/ + /qoy-/ 'to put, place' > completive aspect.

/tayyɔrlap qoy-/ 'to prepare (finish making ready)': /tayyɔrlap/ 'making ready'

h. /-ib ~ -ip ~ -b ~ -p/ + /oyla-/ 'to think'

/dep oyla-/ 'to reflect': /dep/ 'saying'

i. /-ib ~ -ip ~ -b ~ -p/ + /yɔz-/ 'to write'

/kočirip yɔz-/ 'to copy': /kočirip/ 'transferring'

j. /-ib ~ -ip ~ -b ~ -p/ + /ot-/ 'to pass'

/sozlap ot-/ 'to talk over, discuss': /sozlap/ 'saying'

k. /-ib ~ -ip ~ b ~ -p/ + /yɔt- ~ yat-/ 'to lie down' > momentary, sometimes continuative, aspect. The perfective gerund + /yɔt- ~ yat-/ + the narrative past (or perfective gerund) morpheme coalesce to form /-wɔt-/ in informal speech: /-ip yɔtip- ~ -p yɔtip/ > /-wɔt-/. In the Tashkent dialect this tends to replace /-yap-/ (l.l. above).

/yɔzip yɔtipti/ > /yɔzwɔtti/ '(he) is writing (right now)': /yɔzip/ 'writing'; /išlap yɔtipman/ > /išlawɔtman/ 'I am working (right now)': /išlap/ 'working'

l. /-ib ~ -ip ~ -b ~ -p/ + /tur-/ 'to stand, continue, live' or /otir-/ 'to sit down' or /yur-/ 'to walk, move' > action at a certain moment, sometimes continuative aspect.

/yɔzip turaman/ 'I am (just now, or regularly) writing': /yɔzip/ 'writing'; /gapirišip turamiz/ 'we are (at this moment) conversing; let's keep conversing'; /išlapturmɔqčiman/ 'I intend to be working': /išlap/ 'working'; /ɔynabotiribman/ 'I am playing': /ɔynap/ 'playing'; /išlabyuribman/ 'I am working': /išlap/ 'working'

With a participial formant: /uxlap turgan waqtta/ 'at the time for sleeping'

3. /-ib ~ -ip ~ -b ~ -p/ combines with the auxiliary verbs /bol- ~ bul-/ or /e-/.

a. /-ib ~ -ip ~ -b ~ -p/ + /bol- ~ bul-/ > completive aspect.

/yep bol-/ > /yebbol-/ 'to have (be) finished eating': /yep/ 'eating'

Note: Compounds with the 3rd person singular of the present-future or present-possibilitative future convey a special meaning. /tušunip boladi/ 'it's possible to understand'; /etip bolmaydi/ 'it is impossible to say'; /ešitibbolmas/ 'it is impossible to hear'

b. /-ib ~ -ip ~ -b ~ -p/ + /e-/.

/kelip edim/ 'I have (just now) come'; /yɔzibedik/ 'we wrote, were writing (just now)'; /ular yašamap edi/ 'they hadn't been living'; /yep emas edik ~ yeyip emas edik/ 'we haven't, hadn't eaten'

Note: The final /b/ of the allomorphs of this gerund that occur in close juncture with /e-/ is often replaced by /w/ in rapid informal speech: thus -VbV- > -VwV- (2.321.). Moreover, before /w/, /i/ > /u/ and /a/ > /ɔ/: /kelibedi-/ > /keluwedi-/; /sorabedi-/ > /sorɔwedi-/. And, in most cases, the /e/ of /edi-/ is elided--in conformance with the pattern (3.231.A.) whereby /e-/, when it follows some other sequence in close juncture, is apt to disappear. This is particularly apparent in compound verbal constructions: /keluwedi-/ > /keluwdi-/; /sorɔwedi-/ > /sorɔwdi-/. On the other hand, if this rule (3.231.A.) takes precedence over the first-mentioned pattern (2.321.), then /kelip edi-/ > /kelibdi-/ (or else /kelipti-/) and /sorap edi-/ > /sorabdi-/ (/sorapti-/)--see 3.211.A., 3.213.B. Where this last operation occurs, constructions in the 3rd person become identical with those in the narrative past: e.g. /kelipti/ '(he) has (just now) come': /kelipti/ '(they say) (he) came' (6.33.B.2.).

C. A compound consisting of a gerund + auxiliary other than /e-/ can itself acquire an auxiliary verb. The original auxiliary verb then becomes a verbal noun or gerund. The negative verbal noun /emas/ rarely appears in such constructions; rather the new verbal noun or gerund fits into the vacant slot 3.

1 Subject (optional)	2 Gerund	3 Auxiliary verbal noun	4 Auxiliary finite verb	5 Personal suffix
	kora	ɔlmas	edi-	-ϕ-lar
	yep	bolgan	edi-	-k
pɔyiz	ketip	qɔlgan	ekan-	-ϕ
	ɔlip	ketmagan	ekan-	-ϕ-lar
sen	yɔzip	ɔlmas	edi-	-ŋ
biz	ɔlip	ketsamiz	edi-	-ϕ
siz	sɔtip	ɔlar	ekan-	-siz
	korip	qɔygan	edi-	-ϕ

/kora ɔlmas edilar/ 'they (habitually) weren't able to see'; /yep bolgan edik/ 'we had just finished eating'; /pɔyiz ketip qɔlgan ekan/ '(apparently) the train has, had already left'; /ɔlip ketmagan ekanlar/ '(evidently) they have not carried (it) away'; /sen yɔzip ɔlmas ediŋ/ 'you didn't write it down'; /biz ɔlip ketsamiz edi/ 'if we were to take (it) away'; /siz sɔtip ɔlar ekansiz/ 'you (pol. sg., pl.) (apparently) will (would) have bought'; /korip qɔygan edi/ '(he) had already seen'

The gerund in slot 3 must be an imperfective gerund. It occurs here only in combination with the finite auxiliary verbs /yɔt- ~ yat-/, /tur-/, /otir-/, or /yur-/, or /bil-/ 'to know, know how'

1 Subject (optional)	2 Gerund	3 Auxiliary Gerund	4 Auxiliary finite verb	5 Personal suffix
men	qila	ɔla	turib-	-man
biz	kora	ɔlmay	yurib-	-miz
	ɔlip	kela	yɔtib-	-miz
			(kelyap-)	
u	oqiy	ɔla	bilmay-	-di

/men qilɔla turibman/ 'I am continuing to be able to do'; /biz korɔlmay yuribmiz/ 'we are still unable to see'; /ɔlip kelayɔtibmiz ~ ɔlip kelyapmiz/ 'we are continuing to bring'; /u oqiy ɔla bilmaydi/ '(he) doesn't know how to read, study'

6.383. Equational clauses containing compound verbal constructions.

Such constructions occur where the head of the equational clause is followed by /bol- ~ bul-/ which in turn takes the auxiliary /e-/.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Subject (optional)	Head of predicate (non-verb)	Auxiliary (verbal noun)	Negative verbal noun in /e-/	Auxiliary finite verb	Personal suffix
ular	yɔzuwči	bolgan	emas	edi-	-ϕ-lar

/ular yɔzuwči bolgan emas edilar/ 'they had not been (become) writers'

Phrases are generally substitutable for words (simple or compound) but not for higher-level sequences (clauses).

7.1. A phrase consists usually of two or more words —one of which is the head— but occasionally it contains only one word. In the latter instance, the head is normally set off by major juncture. /bɔla| (uxladi)/ 'the (a) child (slept)': /bɔla|/ 'the (a) child' (nominal phrase). Cf. /bɔla uxladi‖/ 'the (a) child slept' (verbal phrase).

7.2. Coordinate phrases are those that contain more than one head. Each head is a word, or occasionally a phrase.

7.21. Coordinate phrases may or may not contain coordinating conjunctions.

7.211. With coordinating conjunctions (see 4.471.).

1. Phrases consisting of two or several heads, the last of which is preceded by /wa/, /ham/, /bilan/, /ya?ni ~ yani/, /yɔ/, /yɔki/, /ammɔ/, /lekin/, etc.:

/partada | perɔlar wa ručka bɔr/ 'penpoints and a penholder are in the desk'; /magazinda | gazeta žurnal ham kitɔblar kop/ 'in the store are many newspapers, magazines, and books'; /ɔtam bilan ɔnam esa | šaxmat oynadilar/ 'my father and my mother played chess'; /dewɔr baland wa ɔq/ 'the fence is high and white'; /hɔwlida yɔki bɔǧda oynayman/ 'I play in the courtyard or in the garden'; /seŋgagina emas balki meŋga | yɔrdam qildi/ '(he) helped not only you but me'

2. Phrases consisting of two or several heads, each of which is accompanied by the conjunctions /ham . . ham/ 'as well as, both . . and'; /yɔ . . . yɔ/ 'either . . or'; /na . . . na/ 'neither . . nor'; /gɔh . . gɔh/ 'now . . now'; etc.

/bɔzɔrda qɔwun ham tarwuz ham uzum ham sɔtiladi/ 'melons, watermelons, as well as grapes are sold in the market'; /gɔh xud gɔh bexud/ 'now good, now bad'; /xɔh bɔrdi xɔh bɔrmadi | bilmayman/ 'I don't know whether (he) went or not'

7.212. Without coordinating conjunctions.

These consist of two or more heads juxtaposed: /uč tort marta(ba)/ 'three or four times'; /siz uŋga tort bešta kitɔb-berasammi/ 'will you give him four or five books?'; /taškeŋga | har xil zawɔt teatr maktap kutupxɔnalar | kop/ 'Tashkent has numerous (all kinds of) factories, theaters, schools, and libraries'

7.22. Derivational and inflectional suffixes are normally added as follows:

7.221. The plural (derivational) suffix is added to the last head—but often not to the preceding ones. /šaharda awtɔmɔbil awtɔbus tramwaylar bɔr/ 'in the city are automobiles, buses, and streetcars'

Note: If certain of the heads are singular and others plural, /-lar/ is attached to those with plural meaning. /men derazalar wa ešikni ɔčtim/ 'I opened the windows and the door'

7.222. Personal possessive suffixes are usually added to each head. /ukam wa siŋlim/ 'my younger brother and younger sister'

7.223. Case suffixes are often added only to the last head. /qalam wa perɔni ɔldim/ 'I took the pencil and pen'; /bu dala wa bɔğlarda daraxtlar kop/ 'in these fields and gardens are many trees'; /men tɔğa wa umardan xat ɔldim/ 'I received letters from Togha and Umar'; /sakkiz yarimda/ 'at eight-thirty (lit. eight half-at)'. But: /biz har kun hɔwlida wa bɔğda oynaymiz/ 'every day we play in the courtyard and in the garden'

7.224. Postpositions are added only to the last head: /men ɔtam ɔnam wa ɔpam -bilan | xayrlaštim/ 'I said goodbye to my father, mother, and older sister'

7.3. Nominal phrases.

Nominal phrases have as their head a noun or any other word acting as a noun.

7.31. A noun phrase has one of the following kinds of attributes:

7.311. The attribute is in the nominative singular and is invariable. (Often such a construction indicates that the head is indefinite, as opposed to definite.)

7.3111. The attribute is a noun or noun phrase.

1. The noun indicates a quantity or measure. The head of the phrase is in the singular. /bir neča dɔna tuxum/ 'some eggs'; /ikki tup daraxt/ 'two trees'; /men bergan bir quti mewa/ 'a box of fruit that I gave'; /bir piyɔla suw/ 'a glass of water'; /ikki kunlik yol/ 'two days' walk'

2. The noun acts as an adjective and indicates quality or purpose with respect to the head or is a geographical name. The head usually carries a possessive suffix in the 3rd person singular and is in the nominative case. /sigir suti/ 'cow's milk'; /mɔl eti/ 'beef (lit. cattle its-meat)'; /tort nɔyabr kuni/ 'the fourth of November'; /bugun | dam ɔliš kuni/ 'today is a holiday (lit. today is-resting its-day)'; /oquw yurti/ 'educational institution'; /oqiš kitɔbi/ 'reader (lit. reading its-book)'; /šaxmat taxtasi/ 'chess board'; /šahar bɔlalari/ 'city children'; /ɔna tili/ 'native language'; /ɔtalar sozi/ 'proverb(s) (lit. fathers their-word)'; /yuz boliši/ 'a hundred of them (lit. hundred their-being)'; /har tɔmɔni/ 'all around (lit. everything its-side)'; /xɔtin šapka(si)/ 'a (the) woman's hat (i.e. hat for a woman)'

3. The noun acts as an adjective and indicates the possessor (sometimes substance or purpose). The head does not carry a possessive suffix. Usually greater concreteness is indicated than in forms with the suffix. /nazar parta/ 'Nazar's desk'; /maktap deraza/ 'school window'; /ɔš qɔzɔn/ 'kettle for cooking (meat or pilaf)'; /ǧišt dewɔr/ 'brick wall'; /taxta pɔl/ 'wooden floor'

4. The noun carries a dative, locative, or ablative suffix. /kutupxɔnadan kitɔblar/ 'books from the library'

7.3112. The attribute is an adjective or adjective phrase.

1. An interrogative or demonstrative adjective. /qaysi surat/ 'which picture?'; /bu ɔtlar/ 'these horses'; /qanday darslar/ 'what kind of lessons?'

2. A numeral or indefinite-quantitative adjective. Here the head is always singular. /bir ɔlma | tort(t)a sabzi | wa učta piyɔz/ 'one apple, four carrots, and three onions'; /škaɸta nečta daɸtar bɔr/ 'how many notebooks are in the cabinet?'

3. The adjective may precede a noun phrase consisting of /bir/ + a noun. Usually this lends emphasis to the attributive adjective. /guzal bir qiz/ 'a very beautiful girl!': /bir qiz/ 'a girl'; /katta bir mačit/ 'what a large mosque!': /bir mačit ~ bir masǰit/ 'a mosque'

4. An adjective identical with an adverb. /tez qilišim/ 'my doing (it) quickly (lit. quick my-doing)'

5. Derived adjectives (including verbal adjectives). /ertalapki gazeta/ 'the morning paper'; /xɔtinča yuriš/ 'feminine walk'; /čomiladirgan yerlar/ 'places for swimming'; /ulyerdagi toppi/ 'the cap over there'; /koriši kerak bolgan ortɔǧiŋ/ 'the friend you must see'

7.312. The attribute carries the genitive suffix and indicates the possessor. The head has a possessive suffix and denotes the possessed. Unless /bir/ precedes, both the attribute and the head are usually definite rather than indefinite. Other attributes of the head may follow the attribute noun with a genitive suffix. /lɔlaniŋ ɔnasi/ 'Lola's mother' (definite), cf. /qiz ɔnasi/ 'a girl's mother' (indefinite); /ahmadniŋ ozi/ 'Ahmad himself'; /ozimniŋ sarɔyim/ 'my own castle (lit. of-myself my-castle)'; /xɔnimniŋ šapkasini/ 'the woman's hat(s) (acc.)'; /bir ɔdamni(ŋ) bir qizi bolsa/ 'if a man has a daughter, (lit. of a man his-daughter if-existent)'; /maktap binɔsiniŋ har tɔmɔni/ 'all

around the school building (lit. school of-its-building each its-side)' (i.e. each of its sides); /teatr zallariniŋ dewɔrlarida/ 'on the walls of the theater's corridors (lit. theater of-its-corridors on-their-walls)'. Note: In the last two examples /binɔsiniŋ/ and /zallariniŋ/ are simultaneously heads of one phrase and attributes of another.

7.313. The attribute is a personal pronoun. Before a verbal noun it quite often has no suffix. In other environments it may or may not carry the genitive case suffix. But if the attribute does have a genitive suffix, the head must carry a possessive suffix—except sometimes where it has a case suffix appended. If the attribute does not have a genitive suffix, the head may or may not carry a possessive suffix. /siznin dukɔniŋgiz/ 'your (pol. sg., pl.) store'; /meniŋ bir dostim/ 'a friend of mine'; /biznin uyga keldilar/ 'they came to our house'; /meniŋ oqigan kitɔbim ~ men oqigan kitɔp/ 'the book that I read, have read'; /bizlar hammamiz/ 'all of us'

7.3131. The personal pronoun may be absent. /oqigan kitɔbim/ 'the book that I read, have read'; /bir ortɔǧim/ 'a friend of mine'; /bɔšqa xatɔsi bɔrmi/ 'are there other mistakes in it? (lit. other its-mistakes are-existent?)'

7.4. Adjectival phrases.

7.41. The head is an adjective and the attribute is an adverb.

7.411. The attribute is an adverb or adverbial phrase. /maktabimiz eŋ katta/ 'our school is the biggest'; /ǰuda čirɔyli/ 'very beautiful'; /meŋga ǰuda kerak/ 'I need it very much (lit. to-me is-very necessary)'; /hali kičik bɔla/ 'a (the) still small child'; /yana bir dɸtar/ 'one more notebook': /yana bir/ 'one more (lit. still one)'; /mana bu ɔq bor/ 'this white chalk right here': /mana bu/ 'this right here'; /ana u uč ǰuda eski kitɔblar/ 'those three very old books over there': /ana u/ 'those over there', /ǰuda eski/ 'very old'; /tim qɔra/ 'completely black'

7.42. The attribute is a noun or noun phrase.

1. The noun has a possessive suffix. /xulqi sɔwuq ɔdam/ 'a cold-natured person (lit. his-character cold person)'

2. The noun may or may not have the accusative suffix /-ni/. /gurinči sɔtkan kši/ 'the (a) man who sold (the) rice'; /gurunčni sɔtadirgan kši/ 'the man who will sell (the) rice'

3. The noun carries the ablative case suffix /-dan ~ -tan/. The resulting construction may indicate fractions or express the comparative of adjectives and, in constructions with the possessive suffix or /hamma/ 'all', the superlative. /torttan uč/ 'three-fourths (lit. from-four three)'; /ɔtam u ɔdamdan yɔš/ 'my father is younger than that man'; /bu gul hamma gullardan guzaldur/ 'this flower is the most beautiful of all (lit. this flower of all flowers is-beautiful)'; /gullardan guzali/ 'the most beautiful flower (lit. among-flowers their-beautiful)'

4. The noun has the genitive suffix /-niŋ/. /gullarniŋ guzali/ 'the most beautiful flower (lit. of-flowers their-beautiful)'

5. The noun carries a postposition. The resulting construction forms the equative (sometimes the comparative) of adjectives. /biznіŋ uyimiz | siznіŋ uy-kabi yangidir/ 'our (my) house is as new as (newer than) yours'; /meniŋ ɔtim-kabi tez/ 'as swift as my horse'; /uŋga-qadar yɔmɔn oğil bɔla/ 'a boy as bad as that one': /uŋga-qadar/ 'as much as that one (lit. to-that-one as-far-as)'

7. 43. A verbal adjective (participle) can have a variety of attributes—adverbs, other adjectives, nouns, or gerunds.

/ortɔğimniŋ aytkan ašula/ 'the song sung by my friend'; /uyi ɔq bolgan ɔdam/ 'the man whose house is white (lit. his-house white being man)': /oq bolgan/ 'white being (participle)'; /birga keliškan qizlar/ 'the girls who came together'; /ɔšxɔnada uxlagan išɔn/ 'the person who was sleeping in the restaurant'; /šaharga bɔrgan dehqɔn/ 'the peasant who went to the city': /yɔzip otirgan oqituwči/ 'the teacher who sat and wrote'

7.5. Adverbial phrases.

A noun or pronoun, or equivalent phrase, with a case suffix or postposition may function as an adverbial phrase.

7.51. Ordinary adverbs or adverbial phrases may have another adverb as attribute.

/ǰuda tez/ 'very quickly'; /yana bir marta/ 'once more': /yana/ 'still, again': /bir marta/ 'once, one time'; /eŋ yaxši piškan nɔn/ 'the best-baked bread': /eŋ yaxši/ 'the-most well'; /mana buyerda/ 'right here'; /bunday ǰiddi/ 'so seriously'

7.52. Adverbial constructions that are nouns or pronouns (or equivalent phrases) with case suffixes have the following kinds of attributes:

1. An adjective: /qaysi binɔda/ 'in which, what kind of building?'; /ɔč qɔriŋga/ 'on an empty stomach': /ɔč/ 'hungry'; /ikkinči partada/ 'at the second desk'

2. A noun: /xɔtinlar toğrisida/ 'on the subject of women': /toğrisida/ 'on their subject'; /daryɔniŋ suwida/ 'in the river (lit. of-the-river in-its-water)'; /maktab-bɔğidan/ 'from the school garden'

7.53. Adverbial constructions that are nouns or pronouns (or often verbal nouns) with postpositions have the following kinds of attributes:

1. An adjective: /issiq suw-bilan/ 'with hot water'

2. A noun: /biz ktɔplar bolmagani-učun/ 'because we had no books (lit. our books their-non-existence because-of)'; /dars bɔšlaŋgaŋga-qadar/ 'before the lesson began'; /suw tašuwči ketkandan-soŋra/ 'after the water-carrier had gone (away)'

7.6. Verbal phrases.

Verbal phrases consist of a verb (simple or compound) as head and one or more complements. Gerunds or gerundial constructions may head a verbal phrase, but they do not take equational complements or gerunds as complements.

7.61. Equational complements.

Only the auxiliary verb /bol- ~ bul-/ 'to be, become' can have an equational complement. The latter may be a noun, pronoun, adjective, or noun functioning as adverb. It is always in the nominative.

/hafa boldim/ 'I was distressed'; /bizdan xursand boldilar/ 'they were pleased with us'; /dewɔrda boladi/ 'it is, will be on the wall'; /bugun dars bolmaydi/ 'there are no lessons today'; /kasal bolsa/ 'if (he) is sick,'; /men-bilan bol/ 'stay with me!'; /bu boldi/ 'it was this'

7.62. Direct object complements.

Any transitive verb can have a direct object complement. This consists of a noun, verbal noun, or pronoun. The complement is in the accusative case, either with the indefinite accusative suffix /-ϕ/ or with the definite accusative suffix /-ni/. Rarely, a verb in the passive governs the definite accusative.

1. With /-ϕ/: /nima berasan/ 'what will you give?'; /men rahimdan kop xatlar ɔlaman/ 'I get many letters from Rahim'; /čɔy ičtik/ 'we drank tea'; /yɔzda | hawɔ issiq | čomilmɔq yaxši koraman/ 'in the summer, when the weather is hot, I like to swim': /čomilmɔq/ 'swimming (acc.)'; /ɔwqat ɔliš-učun kettim/ 'I left (went out) to get food'

2. With /-ni/: /u ašulani yaxši aytti/ '(he) sang the song well', cf. /u ašula yaxši aytti/ '(he) sang a song well'; /u kitɔp oqišni yaxši koradi/ '(he) likes reading books': /kitɔp oqišni/ 'book reading'; /rahim bɔlalarni mehmɔn qildi/ 'Rahim entertained the children'; /qalamlariŋgizni ɔliŋlar/ 'take (up) your pencils! (inf. pl.)'; /oqimɔqni bɔšlap/ 'beginning to read,'; /korgan ešitkanlarimni sozlayman/ 'I'm telling what I saw and heard'; /u kuč yigit ekanligini bilmayman/ 'I don't know whether he is a strong (healthy) youth or not': /ekanligini/ '(his) (apparently) being (acc.)'; /sutni ičildi/ 'the milk was drunk'

Note: Usually a pronoun, or a noun with a possessive suffix or a demonstrative or interrogative adjective as attribute, takes the definite accusative morpheme as a matter of course. /men seŋga bu bilatni beraman/ 'I will give you

this (the) ticket'; /qaysi kitɔbni oqiš kerak/ 'which book should be read? (lit. which book reading is-necessary?)'; /bizni čaqirdilar/ 'they called us'

Also: Deverbal nouns formed with /-iš ~ -š/, /-uw ~ -w/, and /-mɔq/ function as verbs insofar as they may take a direct object—(and even an adverbial complement—8.421.). /uni koriš kerak/ '(one) must see that'; /sen nima tɔpkanligiŋni meŋga aytiš kerak/ 'you must tell me what you found (lit. your what having-found to-me telling is-necessary)'

7.621. Certain verbs require that the nominal complement take a particular case ending (other than the accusative) or a special postposition. /men akam-bilan xayrlašaman/ 'I'll say goodbye to my older brother'; /meniŋ siŋlim xuddi ɔnamga oxšaydi/ 'my sister looks just like my mother'; /ularga yɔrdam beradilar/ 'they will help them'; /men yɔziška išɔnmayman/ 'I doubt whether I'll (be able to) write'; /siz bizdan qorqasiz/ 'you (pl.) are afraid of us', and others.

7.63. Indirect object complements.

Forms indicating the indirect object generally precede constructions denoting the direct object, except often where the direct object is represented by a pronoun. /biz sizga mana bu kitɔbni beramiz/ 'we are giving you (pol. sg., pl.) this book'; /men uŋga ɔlmani beraman/ 'I'll give him the apple'; /men uni seŋga yubɔraman/ 'I'll send it to you'

7.64. Adverbial complements.

These include adverbs (or adverbial phrases), nouns with case endings other than /-ni/ or /-ϕ/, nouns with postpositions, adjectives functioning as adverbs, sometimes verbal nouns or pronouns with case endings other than /-ni/ or /-ϕ/ or with postpositions, or gerunds. Any verb but /e-/ or /bol- ~ bul-/ can have an adverbial complement.

/ortɔǧi qayerda turadi/ 'where does (his) friend live?'; /u nečanči sinfta oqiydi/ 'what grade is (he) in? (lit. in which grade does-he-study?)'; /nega bunday deysiz/ 'why do you (pol. sg., pl.) say that?'; /bunday/ 'thus, so'; /bu stulga otir/ 'sit down on this chair'; /men latta-bilan stɔlni arttim/ 'I wiped the table with a cloth'; /undan-keyin

maktabda oqituwči kirdi/ 'after that the teacher came into the school'; /u tort kun kasal yɔtti/ '(she) was sick for four days'; /nari-beri yurip turma/ 'don't keep walking back and forth'; /biz birga ičtik/ 'we drank together'; /yana kim kuladi/ 'who is still laughing?'; /u sɔat nečada ɔwqatlanadi/ 'at what time does (he) eat?'; /ketayɔtkan waqtimizda kel/ 'come at the time (when) we leave'; /radiɔdan kɔnt͡sert ešittim/ 'I listened to (heard) a concert on the radio'; /pɔlga gilam yɔz/ 'spread a carpet on the floor!'; /men dɔskaga yɔzdim/ 'I wrote on the board'; /tuzattan ɔlip-ketip/ 'going away suddenly,'

7.641. Adverbial complements denoting manner usually occur immediately before the verb. /ular kinɔga kam či-qadilar/ 'they rarely go out to the movies'; /u kitɔbda siyɔh-bilan yɔzdi/ '(he) wrote in the book with ink'; /ašulalarni rus tilida ayttilar/ 'they sang songs in Russian'; /bu yil ukam kop očti/ 'my younger brother grew a lot this year'

7.642. Adverbial complements denoting time or place tend to be found near the beginning of verbal phrases. And they very often occur before the subject—as the head of a clause-initial phrase. /kuzda u qɔwunlar pišadi/ 'in the fall those melons will ripen'; /endi bu kitɔbni meŋga ber/ 'now give this book to me'; /ikkinči partada yana men otiraman/ 'I'll still sit at the second desk'; /buyerda| men bir ɔy turaman/ 'I have been living here for a month'

Note: In certain instances adverbial complements denoting time or place appear after a direct object complement with /-ni/ (the definite accusative), and therefore close to the verb. In part this results from the fact that an adverbial construction accompanying a nominal in the definite accusative conveys more new information than one co-occurring with a nominal in the indefinite accusative—provided the utterances are alike in other respects.

Contrast the following pairs of verbal phrases:

/har kun gazeta oqiydi/ '(he) reads a newspaper every day': /gazetani har kun oqiydi/ '(he) reads the newspaper every day' (supplies data about the reading of the newspaper)

/ɸɔzil bɔzɔrdan gilam ɔldi/ 'Fazil brought a carpet from the market': /ɸɔzil gilamni bɔzɔrdan ɔldi/ 'Fazil brought the carpet from the market' (provides data concerning the carpet)

/sen kimlardan xat ɔlasan/ 'from whom are you going to get a letter?': /sen kitɔblarni qayerdan ɔlasan/ 'where are you going to get the books?'

7.6421. Adverbial complements indicating time often appear before those denoting place. /bugun yaŋgi teatriga bɔrdim/ 'today I went to the new theater'; /siz tanaɸɸusta qayerga bɔrasiz/ 'where do you (pl.) go during (school) recess?'; /hamma bɔlalar darrɔw maktabda kirdilar/ 'all the children immediately entered the school'; /nuri| bugun kočaga čiqmadi/ 'Nuri didn't go out into the street today'; /ertaga bɔzɔrga bɔraman/ 'I will go to the bazaar tomorrow'

7.643. Coordinate gerunds (with or without the negative morpheme), are complements to finite verbs only.

/gapirišip otiriŋlar/ 'sit conversing (lit. conversing sit)'; /uxlap qɔladi/ '(he) is still sleeping (lit. sleeping he-remains)'

7.6431. The imperfective gerund may be reduplicated for special emphasis. /yura-yura čarčadi/ '(he) became tired from so much walking (lit. walking-and-walking he-became-tired)'; /kula-kula sozladi/ '(he) talked, laughing a lot'

7.6432. The same gerunds that function as adverbial complements in verb phrases may also be found as heads of dependent clauses or as components of compound verbs. Contrast the following:

/gapirmay otirdik/ 'we sat down without speaking' (as part of verbal phrase): /gapirmay-otirdik/ 'we continued not speaking' (as part of compound verb)

/yɔzip yɔzip-turaman/ 'I am writing and writing' (the first gerund is an adverbial complement within a verbal phrase; the second is part of a compound verb):

/qarap-turip| otirdim/ 'I sat, continuing to look'
(the first gerund is part of a compound verb;
the second, in combination with the first, is
a gerundial head of a dependent clause)

8. CLAUSE STRUCTURE

8.1. A clause consists of one or more words or phrases: /kordim↓/ 'I saw'; /ortɔǧiŋ keladimi↑/ 'Will your friend come?'; /bɔrsam|/ 'if I go,'. It is distinguished from the phrase in that it is closed either by 1. a terminal juncture phoneme, /↑/ or /↓/, or by 2. major internal juncture /|/ preceded by: a. a gerund (or equivalent construction) or b. the predicate of a direct quote and/or one of the markers of direct discourse--/dep/, /dedi/, and /-ki/.

8.2. Independent clauses.

Independent clauses, which terminate in /↑/ or /↓/, may occur alone or may follow some other clause. In either case they are equivalent to sentences and may acquire so-called "sentence" enclitics (4.493.).

There are two main types of independent clauses: minor and major (or full).

8.21. Minor independent clauses.

These clauses, which occur frequently in dialogue, are without a predicate. The following sub-types occur:

1. Vocative or interjectional: /yɔzdim↓ mana↓/ 'I have written (it). There!'; /qani↓/ 'Well, now!'; /hakim↑/ 'Hakim!'; /ha↓ ha↓/ 'Yes, yes!'; /salɔm↓/ 'Hello!'

2. Completive (response to a given question or statement): /ha↓ bɔr↓/ 'Yes, there is'; /xop↓/ 'All right!'; /a sisči↑/ 'And you (pol. sg., pl.) there?'; /yoq↓/ 'No'; /men esa↓/ 'The same with me; I, also'; /bɔzɔrga bɔrasam↓/ 'If I go to the bazaar'; /qaysi ešik↓ ana u ešik↓/ 'Which door? That door (over there)'; /šundaymi↑/ 'Like this?'

3. Other clause fragments: /u sɔat eski emas↓ yaŋgi↓/ 'That clock isn't old, it's new'; /u binɔ baland emas| past↓/ 'That building isn't tall; it's low'

8.22. Major independent clauses.

Major independent clauses have as their basic element the predicate. Equational clauses lacking any verb as part of the predicate must have a subject or else a personal predicative suffix (+ the enclitic /-lar/ for the plural 3rd person). Otherwise, the sequence is a clause fragment. Other clause-types may occur with or without a subject: /oqidik↓/ 'We studied'; /ɔnam kasal↓/ 'My mother is sick'; /biz| saφarčimiz↓/ 'We are travelers': /saφarčilar↓/ 'Travelers' (minor clause).

8.221. The subject.

The subject of a clause almost invariably precedes the predicate in standard educated speech, and usually it comes before the object (verb complement). (A few modern, fixed expressions may violate this pattern--e.g. /yašasin ittifɔq↓/ 'Long live the union!'). The subject is not always clause-initial, for adverbial expressions of time or place often serve as clause introducers, as do certain adverbial phrases.

In equational clauses, the subject is often set off by internal major juncture /|/, here, a phrase juncture.

8.2211. Agreement between subject and predicate.

1. The subject can take a verb in the passive voice. /xatim ɔlindi↓/ 'My letter was found'; /xɔtinlar sozlanilmadi↓/ 'Women were not spoken of'

2. Use of the plural.

a. A subject in the plural often does not require a predicate with the plural enclitic particle. (Note that a personal suffix without /-lar/ is inherently neither singular nor plural.) /darsta oquwčilar oqidilar wa yɔzdilar↓/ 'During the lesson the students read and wrote'; /qœylar et beradi↓/ 'Sheep give meat'; /kimlar kelmadilar↓/ 'Who did not come?'; /uzumlarni kimlar ɔldi↓/ 'Who took the grapes?';

/hamma bɔlalar kordi↓/ 'All the students saw (it)'; /ular meniŋ ortɔq↓/ 'They are my friends'; /bizlar oqituwči↓/ 'We are teachers'

b. When the subject is a demonstrative pronoun, the predicate is often in the plural. /ular ɔsbɔblar↓/ 'Those are tools'

c. Where a compound subject involves pronouns indicating different persons--e.g. you and I, they and I--the personal suffix of the predicate will be as follows:

The presence of a first-person pronoun demands a first-person plural suffix. /men wa u kordik↓/ (He) and I saw'

The combining, within the subject slot, of a second-person pronoun and a third-person pronoun (or a noun) demands that the predicate carry a second-person plural suffix. /sen wa meniŋ ortɔğim qɔlasiz↓/ You and my friend will stay'

d. If the subject is a compound one including two or more proper names the predicate will usually carry the plural enclitic particle. /karim wa lɔla| studentlar↓/ 'Karim and Lola are students'; /rahim wa nazar| bugun šaharga bɔradilar↓/ 'Rahim and Nazar are going to the city today'

8.222. The predicate.

8.2221. The predicate has as its center:

A. A finite verb other than /bol- ~ bul-/ and /e-/.

/ular maktap ašulalari ayttilar↓/ 'They sang their school song'; /har xil gullar osadi↓/ 'All kinds of flowers are growing'; /bu qɔwunlardan torttasi ačigan↓/ 'Four of these melons have spoiled'; /meniŋ ɔğam| latif| keldi↓/ 'My older brother Latif came'

Note: In traditional sayings, poetry, and quite colloquial speech, the predicate is not always in clause-final position. /har kimniki oziga| ɔy korinadi(r) koziga↓/

'To every person his own things are beautiful' (traditional saying) (i.e. 'everyone's things are beautiful to himself')

B. A noun, pronoun, adjective, adverb, or equivalent phrase (in equational clauses only).

1. A noun. /mana buyerda = meniŋ siŋlimni oyinčɔqlari↓/ 'Right here are my younger sister's toys'; /buniŋ qiliniši = lɔzim narsa↓/ 'It has to be done (lit. of-this its-being-done = necessary thing)'; /gadɔ dušmani = gadɔ↓/ 'A beggar is a beggar's enemy' (traditional saying); /u ɔt = tɔğamniŋ↓/ 'That horse is my uncle's'; /ɔtaŋ = kim↓/ 'What does your father do?'; /sɔat = yetti yarim↓/ 'It is seven-thirty (lit. hour = seven half)'; /tort karra sakkiz = ottizikki↓/ 'Four times eight equals thirty-two'

Note: The special nouns /bɔr/ and /yoq/ function in equational clauses like adjectives (as in a.) or somewhat like verbs (see b. below).

a. As the center of the predicate in certain fixed expressions. /uniŋ puli = bɔrmi↓/ 'Does (he) have money?'; /keragi = yoq↓/ 'It is not necessary'; /bɔrganim = yoq↓/ 'I didn't go, haven't gone'; /uniŋ ikki qizi wa bir oğli = bɔr↓/ '(She) has two daughters and a son'; /yaxšiga kun| yɔmɔŋga olim = yoq↓/ 'There is no life for a good person or death for a bad one' (traditional saying)

b. After a noun which is the center of the predicate, where that noun is semantically the subject of the sentence.

/uŋga = pul yoq↓/ '(He) doesn't have any money'; /pɔrtfelda yana = nimalar bɔr↓/ 'Which things are still in the briefcase?'

Contrast the following pairs of sentences: /kitɔp = qayerda↓/ 'Where is the book?': /kitɔp = stɔlda↓/ 'The book is on the table'; /stɔlda = nima (bɔr)↓/ 'What is on the table?': /stɔlda = kitɔb bɔr↓/ 'On the table is a book'; /stɔlda= kitɔb (bɔr) mi↑/ 'Is there a book on the table?': /stɔlda = kitɔb yoq↓/ 'There isn't a book on the table'

2. A pronoun. /u kitɔb = biznіŋ↓/ 'That book is ours'

3. An adjective. /xatɔsi = kop↓/ 'There are many mistakes in it (lit. its-mistakes = many)'; /qɔrnim = ɔč↓/

'I am hungry (lit. my-stomach = hungry)'; /sariq qɔğɔz = yaŋgimi↓/ 'Is the yellow paper new? '; /sɔat = neča↓/ 'What time is it?'; /ɔlip kelgan gazetaŋgiz = qaysi↓/ 'Which is the newspaper that you brought? '; /kormagan bolsam = kerak↓/ 'I may not have seen'; /uniŋ keliši = ehtimɔl↓/ '(He) possibly will come'; /sen qarayɔtkan gilam = ǰuda qiymat↓/ 'That rug you're looking at is very expensive'; /šaharda kočalar = keŋ ham uzun/ 'In the city the streets are wide as well as narrow'; /men yemasim = kerak/ 'I should not eat'

4. An adverb. /u = taškenttan↓/ '(He) is from Tashkent'; /yana sigirlar = daladami↑/ 'Are the cows still in the field? '; /ɔq qɔğɔz = qayerda↓/ 'Where is (the) white paper? '

8.2222. The predicate's center (noun, pronoun, adjective, or adverb) may be followed by either A. or B.

A. The auxiliary verb /bol- ~ bul-/. (Recall that the verbal nouns also combine with this auxiliary--but to form compound verbs in non-equational sentences.)

/u = muallim boldi↓/ 'He became a teacher'; /kelganimga = ikki hafta boladi↓/ 'I'll be here for two weeks'; /sen = qayerda bolursan↓/ 'Where will you (possibly) be? '; /biz = xursand boldik↓/ 'We were happy'; /stɔlda = uč kitɔb-boladi↓/ 'On the table are (will be) three books'; /rais bolgan edim/ 'I was chairman' (/bolgan edim/ is more emphatic than either /boldim/ or /edim/ occurring singly).

B. The negative verbal noun /emas/ and either the predicative (copula) particle or the defective auxiliary /e-/. Any of these may take personal suffixes and 'sentence' enclitics. Personal suffixes (and the copula particle in the 3rd person) must appear if there is neither a subject nor a finite auxiliary verb.

1. /emas/: /meŋga xɔnimniŋ šapkasini keltiriŋ↓ erkaklarligini = emas↓/ 'Bring me women's hats, not men's'; /u = toğri emas↓/ 'That is not correct'; /meniŋ tɔğam = muallim emas↓/ 'My uncle is not a teacher'

2. /-dir ~ -dur ~ -tir ~ -tur/: /men = studentturman↓/ 'I am a student'; /uniŋ puli = yoqtir↓/ '(He) doesn't have

any money'; /uyat yigitka = olimdir↓/ 'To a young man, dishonor is death' (traditional saying); /muhim narsa = darslarimizga qatnašuwdir↓/ 'The important thing is getting our lessons done'

3. /e-/: /ularniŋ bir neča bɔlalari = bɔr edi↓/ 'They had several children'; /sen = kasal ekansan↓/ '(I heard that) you were sick'; /kelišim = kerak emas edi↓/ 'I should not have come'; /u maktup | heč bir yɔzilmagan boluwi = lɔzim edi↓/ 'That letter should never have been written'; /bolsa = kerak edi↓/ '(It) may (possibly) have been'; /yoq emiš/ 'there (evidently) is (are) not'; /xursant ekan ediŋ/ 'you seem to have been happy'

8.3. Dependent clauses.

Just as within phrases the attribute occurs before the nominal, and the complement before the verb, and in clauses the subject occurs before the predicate, so in sentences dependent clauses appear before independent clauses.

Dependent clauses typically end in internal major juncture /|/ and have one of the following kinds of heads:

1. A gerund (the perfective gerund, rarely the imperfective gerund except in the negative):

/uni dep | ketti↓/ 'Saying that, (he) left'; /gapirišip | taništi↓/ 'By talking together, they became acquainted'; /qilarni bilmay | qɔldim↓/ 'Not knowing what to do, I stayed'; /yiğlap | sozladi↓/ '(She) wept as (she) spoke'; /soz etmay | čiqip kettik↓/ 'Without saying a word, we left'

2. A gerundial construction: /-sa-/ with personal suffix; /-gan- ~ -kan- ~ -qan-/, rarely alone, usually with dative or ablative case suffix (sometimes with possessive suffix); occasionally /-ar- ~ -ur- ~ -r- ~ -s-/ (/-s-/ may take the ablative suffix); or /-gunča/ (may follow a negative stem but gives positive meaning). All but /-gunča/ may carry the auxiliary verb /e-/ and/or an enclitic particle.

/bɔrsaŋ-da |/ '(even) if you go, '; /qarasa | turipti↓/ 'When (he) saw (it), (he) stopped (lit. stood)'; /gapirɔlm-aganidan | kuldi↓/ 'Because (he) couldn't speak, (he) laughed'; /bolmasa |/ 'if so; if not,'; /kelgan bolsa-ham |/ 'although (he) has arrived,'; /kirganiŋgizda |/ 'when you (pol. sg., pl.) entered,'; /bilmastan |/ 'not knowing; without knowing,'; /oldirmagunča |/ 'until you kill (it), '

3. Also, verbal noun + postposition, or noun + dative suffix or postposition.

/bir paz otirgandan-keyin|/ 'after sitting a while, '; /čɔydan-keyin | u ketti↓/ 'After tea, (she) left'; /kelmastan-ilgari |/ 'before (I) come, came' (a negative stem before /-ilgari/ has positive meaning); /mihmɔn kelgan waqtta |/ 'when the guest(s) arrived, '

8.4. Combining of clauses.

An independent clause is equivalent to the sentence. In combination with a dependent clause or another independent clause, a final independent clause forms the compound sentence. Clauses are combined through the processes of coordination, subordination, or insertion.

8.41. Coordination (involves the combining of independent clauses only).

Coordination is achieved through simple juxtaposition of clauses or through the use of coordinating conjunctions.

8.411. Without conjunctions.

/asil aynamas | sariyɔğ sasimas↓/ 'A well-bred person doesn't go wrong, just as pure butter doesn't spoil quickly' (traditional saying); /qɔzɔŋga yaqinlašma | qɔrasi yuqadir↓/ 'Don't come close to the kettle; its blackness might come off on you' (traditional saying: said to children to warn them against associating with persons with bad habits); /men erta-bilan ɔwqat tayyɔrlamayman | kečqurun ↓/ 'I don't prepare food in the morning; I do it in the evening'; /men qorqaman | seniŋ-učun birɔz qɔlmadi↓/ 'I'm afraid there is nothing left for you'; /biz ertaga bayramga | bɔramizmi | bɔrmaymizmi↓/ 'Are we going to the festival

tomorrow or not? '; /paketlarniŋ učtasi = akamniki | bɔšqa biri = meniki↓/ 'Three of the packages belong to my older brother, and the other one is mine'; /mana bu bark qizilmi | yašilmi ↓/ 'Is this leaf over here red or green? '; /bɔrmi | yoqmi | bilmayman↓/ 'I don't know whether there is or there isn't'; /sen kop uxlaysan | men ɔz↓/ 'You sleep a lot; I sleep a little'; /u ham emas | bu ham emas↓/ 'It's neither this nor that'

8.412. With conjunctions.

Some coordinating conjunctions stand at the beginning of the final independent clause--i.e. just after the internal major juncture /|/ which closes the preceding clause. Others occur paired, with one member standing before each clause. For those occupying special positions, see 4.471.

/karimǰɔn kasal boldi | wa uyda yɔtti↓/ 'Karim was sick and stayed (in bed) at home'; /maktabda oquwčilar oqiydilar| wa yɔzadilar↓/ 'In school the students read and write'; /sen u narsaga qiziqasammi | yɔki yoqmi | men bilmayman↓/ 'I don't know whether you are interested in that subject or not'; /na bu | na u↓/ 'It is neither this nor that'; /uŋga kɔfe quyib-beraymi | yɔki čɔymi↓/ 'Shall I give (her) coffee or tea? '; /biz bɔraylik | wa šunday deylik↓/ 'We must go and say so'; /hɔzir yɔŋğir yɔğmayɔtir | ammɔ ehtimɔl yaqinda yɔğar↓/ 'It isn't raining right now, but it probably soon will'

8.42. Subordination.

Subordination is achieved either by juxtaposing a dependent clause whose head is a gerund or gerundial construction to an independent clause, or by appending a subordinating conjunction to an independent clause, thereby making it dependent.

8.421. Without conjunctions. (However, the conjunction /agar(da)/ 'if' is optional at the beginning of a dependent clause whose head is a construction in /-sa-/ or /-gan-/.

/u ornidan turdi | wa heč kimga bir soz demastan | čiqip ketti↓/ '(He) got up and left without saying a word to

anyone'; /biz urganip tursa-da | rusča yaxši gapirmaymiz↓/ 'Although we are continuing to learn, we don't speak Russian well'; /kiyaw ketkandan-keyin | uniŋ ɔnasi yiğladi↓/ 'After the bridegroom left, his mother cried'; /agar u xɔhlamasa | nimaga uyerga bɔriši = lɔzim↓/ 'If (she) doesn't want to, why should (she) go there?'; /ɔlma ɔlip | yep ketti↓/ 'Taking the apple, he went away eating (it)'

8.4211. A clause terminating in /-sa-/ or /-gan-/ shows certain patterns of agreement, with regard to tense, with the following independent clause. Note the pairs of sentences below.

/(agar) šaharda yašasaŋgiz | zawɔdda išlayaǰaksan↓/ 'If you live in the city, you'll work in a factory': /(agar) šaharda yašasaŋgiz | zawɔdda išlagan bolasan↓/ 'If you lived in the city, you'd work in a factory'

/pulim bolsa (edi) | ɔlar edim↓/ 'If I had money, I would buy it': /ɔqčam bolsa edi | ɔlgan bolur edim↓/ 'If I had had money, I would have bought (it)'

/agar-da sen har bir narsani | bunday ǰiddi ɔlmasaŋ | yaxširɔq bolar edi↓/ 'It will (would) be better if you don't (wouldn't) take things so seriously': /agar-da sen har bir narsani | bunday ǰiddi ɔlmagan bolsaŋ | yaxširɔq bolgan bolar edi↓/ 'It would have been better if you hadn't taken things so seriously'

/(agar) u meŋga pul tolaganda | men ašula yɔzar edim↓/ 'If (he) would pay me money, I would write a song': /(agar) u meŋga pul tolaganda edi | men ašula yɔzgan bolar edim↓/ 'If (he) had paid me money, I would have written a song'

8.422. With conjunctions.

The addition of a subordinating conjunction to an independent clause makes that clause dependent. For this we use the enclitic conjunction /-ki/ (rarely /-kim/).

/kop gapirdi-ki | kelganim kormadi↓/ '(He) was talking so much that (he) didn't see me arrive'; /aytiš = mumkiŋ-ki | u = bɔydir↓/ 'It is possible to say that (he) is wealthy';

/aɸsus-ki | biz qɔlmadik↓/ 'It was unfortunate that we didn't stay'; /bildiŋ-ki | yegan edim↓/ 'You knew that I had eaten'

Note the use of /-ki/ in direct discourse: /aytti-ki | uni qaramaŋ↓/ '(He) said: "Don't look at that!" '

8.43. Insertion.

Here an independent clause representing direct discourse is included within another clause--after the subject and before the predicate of that clause. In most cases the special subordinating element /dep/, occasionally also /dedi/, follows the quoted clause (in effect, making it dependent). /|/ may intervene, however. (Below, the inserted clause is repeated after each example.)

/qayerga bɔrayɔtirsiz dep | soradi↓/ '"Where are you going?" (he) asked': /qayerga bɔrayɔtirsiz/ 'Where are you going?'; /tɔšmat bolsa kerak | deb-oyladi↓/ '"It is possible," Toshmat reflected': /bolsa kerak/ 'it is possible'; /agar sen meŋga kulmayman | dep wa?da bersaŋ | men seŋga u nima deganini | sozlab-beraman↓/ 'If you promise me you won't laugh, I'll tell you what (he) said': /kulmayman/ 'I won't laugh'; /men tegaman dedi | dep muezziŋga | ayttilar↓/ 'They said that (he) said to the muezzin: "I greet you" ': /men tegaman/ 'I greet (you)'; /u buni aytma | deyɔlmadi↓/ ~ /u bunday dema | deb-aytɔlmadi↓/ '(He) couldn't say: "Don't say that!" ': /buni aytma/~ /bunday dema/ 'don't say that!'; /biz ularga | buni qilmaŋlar | deb-ayta bilmadik↓/ 'We couldn't tell them not to do that': /buni qilmaŋlar/ 'don't do that (inf. pl.)!'; /u meŋga | yana kel | dedi↓/ '(He) said to me: "Come again!" ': /yana kel/ 'come again!'; /u uyiga kelip dedi | salɔm↓/ 'Arriving home, (he) said: "Greetings!": /salɔm/ 'Greetings!' (This last is a colloquial variant of the included-clause type.)